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What the "Press of India" Stands for? Federation—the Goal of Man.

THE SYNTHESIS OF LIFE.

1. The synthesis needed at the present time is that of man himself. The harmony of his faculties is the condition of his peace, their mutual understanding and helpfulness, the means of his perfection. At war they distract the kingdom of his being. The victory of one at the expense of another maims his self-fulfilment.

2. The peculiar character of our age is the divorce that has been pronounced between reason and faith, the logical mind and the intuitive heart. At first, the declaration of war between them was attended by painful struggles, a faith disturbed or a scepticism dissatisfied. But now their divorce has created exaggerated tendencies which impoverish human life by their mutual exclusiveness, on the one side a negative and destructive critical spirit, on the other an imaginative sentiment which opposes pure instinct and a faith founded on dreams to the sterile fanaticism of the intellect.

3. Yet a real divorce is impossible. Sciencecould not move a step without fa and intuition and to-day it is growing full of dreams. Religion could not stand for a moment if it did not support itself by th intellectual presentation, however ina quate, of profound truths. To-day we s borrowing many of its weapons fr armoury of its opponent. But a synthesis, in virtue of a higher and reconciling truth, can alone dissipate their mutual misunderstandings and restore to the race its integral self-development.

4. The synthesis then, of religious aspiration and scientific faculty as a beginning, and in the resultant, progress, an integrality also of the inner existence, the integral divine harmony within, but as its result, a changed earth and a nobler and happier humanity.—*The Arya*

THE FOURFOLD NATIONAL LIFE.

1. We must recognise the Unity of Nature and the Immanence of God, as well as the Solidarity of Man—which is but their corollary.

2. Science teaches the Unity of Nature, and Religion the Immanence of God. Sociology is but the practical application

in life of the Solidarity of Man, which is the corollary of the Unity of Nature and the Immanence of God. Sociology includes Education, Sociology Proper and Politics. Education, in the true sense of the word, is the basis of Sociology Proper and its fruition is Politics.

3. Science is but the complement of Religion and the true theory of Life must be based on them.

4. There is but One Life, whose different expressions are the Spirit, the Mind, the Emotions and the Body. These four great aspects of human life are closely interrelated and form also the four great departments of national life in every country, *viz.*, the Religious, the Educational, the Social, and the Political; and any antagonism between them, nay, any mutual [illegible]ss or indifference throws the whole Body Politic out of health.

5. While Religion corresponds to the Spirit of Man, these three divisions of Sociology — Education, Sociology Proper and Politics—correspond to the Mind, the Emotions and the Body.

6. Universal Religion regards the different Religions of the world as ways to God and, as such, essentially one. Universal Education insists on the necessity of imparting education to all alike, based on the fourfold aspects of human life. Our aim here should be Universal Education on National lines. Universal Brotherhood aims at the brotherly co-operation between the different communities of each nation and between different nations. Universal Federation aspires to train every people to manage their common affairs themselves in co-operation and harmony with other peoples. Our aim is to build up complete Self-Government of Village Councils through District and Provincial Councils to a National Representative Assembly. This will lead to the Imperial Federation, the first step towards the Universal Federation of the World, based on the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

7. Religion is the Theoretical or Spiritual aspect of Life, while Sociology, which includes Education, Sciology Proper and Politics is the Practical or Worldly aspect of Life.—*The Commonweal*.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

1. Everywhere there are deep stirrings in the placid waters of Life and Thought. There are serious questionings as regards the truth and significance of many an old ideal and institution. There are much graver misgivings as regards the correctness of new ideas and especially regarding their suitability to one's own genius and culture. And all these require for their solution, reverent study, and dispassionate criticism, a diligent search for the permanent beneath recurring changes of dogmas and disciplines, of laws and rituals that have characterised the past history of every people. Above all, these demand the discovery of a large and consistent Philosophy of Life, that higher generalisation and superior synthesis which will reveal the true place and function of every people in the coming Federation of the World. We must interpret ancient life and culture in the terms of modern consciousness and reconstruct modern ideals and institutions in the light of the accumulated and progressive experience of every civilised peo[ple.] Each nation is necessarily identified

with its own particular culture and civilisation and quite naturally it has a pardonable partiality for its own ideals and institutions, but it would be faithless to the very spirit of its true culture if it fails to respect the natural differences of viewpoints or tolerate the inevitable conflicts of ideals due to these differences.

2. The spiritual genius of Man must recognise the fundamental Unity that underlies all forms and classes of diversities and differences. In Philosophy there are endless appearances but One Reality. In Religion there are countless Gods but only one Supreme Lord. In Social Economy there are numerous classes but one organised social whole of which these classes, highest as well as the lowest, are mere limbs and organs. All races, all communities, all religions and all cultures are parts or manifestations of that One Supreme Unity which fulfils and realises itself through these endless differences and diversities.

3. The conceit of individuality or separatism is a universal fact of human experience. We must recognise the necessity of the subjection of the individual to his social order. But there must be provision, of course, for what may be called a super-social state, wherein the individual finally freed from all social obligation, has the fullest possible scope and freedom to live and grow as a law unto himself. To set up each individual upon the true law of his own being must be the ideal-end of every social polity. Through subjection to freedom, this is the key-note of true culture. Even the restraints of religious or social life have this freedom as their ultimate end. And this end is reached by every individual after faithfully discharging the obligation of the various stages of his life. Cured of his natural conceit of Self by the rigid laws and disciplines of the early stages of life, every one stands at the end, consciously identified with the Universal. Devoid of self-regarding desires, his body placed, through long physical and psycho-physical exercises and disciplines above the changes and conflicts of the physical world about him—his intellect established in the eternal verities of reason, undisturbed by fancy, falsehood or doubt—his emotions perpetually lost in the sense and enjoyment of the Universal as revealed in both the natural and the human kingdoms—and his will freed from all individualistic impulses, the truly evolved man stands really for the universal in every department and aspect of his life and can consequently be safel[y] allowed to be a law unto himself. He [is] no longer subjected in this super-s[ocial] state to any social laws and regul[ations].

4. The development and perfection of the human personality is indeed the one ever-present idea as well as the ultimate ideal-end of social evolution. This personality realises and perfects itself not through individualistic isolation but through larger and larger social associations. Our ideal must not be absence of restraint or regulation or dependence but self-restraint, self-regulation and self-dependence. Here the Self is truly a synonym for the Universal. Our ideal must therefore be the complete identification of the individual with the Universal in every conscious relation of his life. The self-revelation of the Absolute Universal has always been the quest of Social Economy. While the Abstract Universal is the last word almost of Metaphysics, the Concrete Universal has been the eternal quest of social life and Philosophy. Reason

may revel in the Abstract Universal, but our emotions and our will demand the Concrete Universal for their play and fulfilment. And though reason, emotions, and the will are not three entities but only the three different aspects or modes of one and the same Unity, and consequently each is implied in the others yet our emotions and our will are in a special sense the bases and organs of our social life. The progressive self-revelation of the Absolute as the Concrete Universal is therefore the universal logic of all social life and evolution.

5. Social evolution proceeds from lower and simpler to higher and more complex stages in proportion as the man's range and variety of his relations with other human unitis and associations expands and increases. From the individual to the family, from the family to the tribe, from the tribe to the race, from raciality to nationality, which includes many races, this has been so far the ascending series in social or historic evolution. From nationalism to internationalism is the growing cry of modern history and culture. And no nation in our time can with impunity refuse to accept the lead of modern historic evolution and oppose the advance of this internationalism. Federalism is only another name for organised internationalism. Freedom of the parts in the unity of the whole is the very soul and essence of this federal idea. Federal internationalism is the coming idea in the present social evolution and modern politics. It is by means of larger and larger human associations that man progressively realises his own personality and in the consequent development and perfection of his own humanity unveils the Divinity in him.

6. God, Universe and Man are indeed One. God is the indweller in individual humans, indeed in all beings severally. He is also the indweller in the collective life of humanity, the director of all social and historic movements. Every human, the lowest socially as well as the highest, must be uniformly viewed as God. The collective life of the various tribes, races and nations of the world must be equally regarded by the highest thought as His diverse vehicles and manifestations. God is the whole and the various nations of the world are parts of that whole, God is the body; the different tribalities, racialities and nationalities are lmbs of that body. The whole is implied in the parts and the organism in the organs. God is logically implicit in every tribe and nation. And the end and aim of evolution of all social units must therefore be to make explicit the life of God in their own life and activities.

7. Each nation must move along these lines to finally take up its God-appointed place in the Universal Federation of Mankind, which will find progressively the largest and must perfect organ of the life and love of God here below.—*The Hindu Review.*

FEDERATION—THE LAW OF BEING.

1. Every object, whether animate or inanimate,—whether vegetable or animal or human—has it own law of being. This Law of Being or Dharma is not imposed upon objects from without, but grows from within, through the general course of their history and evolution. It is something constitutional. And as the constitutions of different things differ, so this Dharma also organises and expresses itself differently in differen

objects. As there are constitutional differences between one individual human and another, so the Dharma of one man cannot truly be the Dharma of another. It is something essentially specific and personal.

2. There must consequently be great diversities of both faiths and cultures in the community, owing to fundamental constitutional differences between the individuals composing it. Hinduism has always recognised this fact. It is, therefore, not one religion, but a federation of many cults and cultures. The Hindu society is also, for the same reason, not a homogeneous unit but rather a highly developed organic whole, which seeks to realise its essential unity not by denying but openly accepting and harmonising in the totality of its life, the endless diversities of its component organisms. Like the Hindu religion Hindu society is also not a unit but a federation of many units. The freedom and integrity of the parts inside the unity of the whole, is the very soul and essence of the federal idea. And in no religion or society has this organic federal ideal been sought to be so fully realised as in the Hindu religion and the Hindu society.—*Ibid.*

THE GOSPEL OF FEDERALISM.

1. We are not acting wisely, in blindly following the lead of Europe and setting up bad imitations of political institutions that have not as yet been able to render a satisfactory account of themselves even in their original home and habitat, where they have centuries of experience, experiments, and disciplines at their back? In proportion as our knowledge of our own past history and culture is expanding by recent researches into ancient Hindu civilsation we are coming to know how we had a very superior political philosophy and had developed a very advanced State-Constitution. And with the birth of a new national self-consciousness, we question the absolute superiority of European institutions over anything that we ourselves had in the past or what we may by and by evolve at present in consonance with our special genius and culture for meeting our present requirements.

2. We admit that the institutions of so-called self-government as they have been developed in Europe, are not entirely suited to the special genius and culture of our people.

3. The whole philosophy of what is called Representative Government in Europe is essentially individualistic and inherently anti-social. It has been s[illegible] worked upon the assumption that there is an inherent antagonism between the interests of one individual and another as well as between those of the different classes of the community; and Representative Government is the best device that Europe has so far been able to think out for the safeguarding of these separate individualistic and sectional interests against the attacks or encroachments of their respective rivals and competitors.

4. It is a rudimentary principle of the Nationalist School that European institutions should not be bodily imposed upon us by the authority of the British Government in the country. For it holds that all such superimpositions, however kindly meant, are more likely to hinder than help the real progress of our people towards the highest modern ideal.

5. Some years ago, we had a very superior form of Self-government in our

ancient village communities. Our Panchayets were a powerful instrument and vehicle of the corporate life of our villages and ruled the life of the people to a very large extent. The new and alien form of municipal government was neither understood nor appreciated by the masses. And the experience of the last thirty years of our so-called municipal self-govenment completely proves how difficult, if not utterly impossible, it is to cultivate the true spirit of self-government in our country through imported foreign institutions and alien methods.

6. The failure of these new institutions is due to the fact that they did not grow naturally from within the people themselves but were imposed upon them from without. This failure does not prove our incapacity for self-government, but only the unsuitability of these to our genius and traditions. For it is well known that in our old village life we had at one time a real measure of self-government.

7. Our rulers do not seem to realise it, that if the old village life and institutions are to be revived at all, the work must be left entirely to the people themselves. Official intervention in any shape or form would court the same failure here again, as has overcome the so-called schemes of self-government in our Municipalities and District and Local Boards.

* * *

13. Nationalism is by no means a mere political ideal. It is something that touches every department of our collective life and activity. It is organised in our domestic, our communal, our social and our socio-economic institutions. In fact politics forms the least important factor of this nation-idea amoung us.

14. Association, not isolation; co-operation, not competition; socialism in the highest and truest sence of the term, and not individualism; duty, and not right—these are the rudimentary concepts of our social and political philosophy. These are the fundamental ideas of Indian Nationalism.

15. Every nation must, first and foremost of all, be true to its own self. And this is true nationalism. It is the loyalty of a nation to its own genius, its own nature, its own proper and true self. Loyalty to our national ideals and institutions means really our only chance of living as a distinct and individual nation. It constitutes our only title to live as an individual nation among the nations of the modern world.

16. It is by expanding our self from the family to the tribe, from the tribe to the race or nation, from the nation to the empire, that we identify it with larger and larger and through this identification we at once restrict and expand the limits of our freedom. The imperial relation thus enlarges our self and helps it to cover much wider ground than the mere national relation; and in so doing while restricting our lower and narrower freedom it expands the range and improves the quality of the new freedom, which we reach as members of this larger and more complex human association.

17. No nationalist propaganda has any moral worth or significance if it does not work towards its own fulfilment in the larger life of some Federal Empire, which is the next higher step in the process of social advancement towards that Universal Humanity, which is the Ideal-End of all Social Evolution.

18. Whether India is or is not to be admitted into the coming federation of the British Empire is no longer an attractive intellectual problem in historical probabilities, but has come visibly within the very range of living, practical politics for, British statesmanship must, in the interests of the British Empire itself, devise adequate means for the admission of India into the Imperial Federation as a rightful co-partner of the Empire, and as an equal among equals, in relation to its other partners. This is the solid basis of the reconciliation,in true political philosophy, of Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism. *Ibid.*

☞ The *Hindu Review* from which sections III to V of the above article have been extracted was started in January 1913 by Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal. Twelve numbers were issued in 1913 and for 1914 only three numbers were issued in March, April and May. We cannot say at present if the journal has been discontinued as we fear. If so, it is a national calamity; however, in the above sections, we have selected passages from his opening article and his valuable articles under "Contemporary Life and Thought" dealing with (1) European *versus* Indian Ideals; (2) The Present Indian Problem; (3) The Philosophy of Nationalism; (4) The Positive Value of Nationalism; (5) Imperialism; (6) Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism.

Mr. Bipin Chanda Pal's articles on Hindu Social Problem and his series of articles on Hinduism have been extracted from, in the "Comparative Religion and Sociology" published recently.

The *Arya*, from which we have extracted the opening section in the above article, is published by Mr. Aurobindo Ghose, who therein expounds the Vedas, the Vedanta and Yoga from a cosmopolitan and synthetic point of view. It contains at the end a collection of the most illuminative sayings of the greatest men of all ages and climes. We propose to give these sayings in every issue of the "*Press of India*" under "Thoughts for the Year." We regret that considering the subject matter and the highly philosophical exposition thereof, we cannot take more extracts from the *Arya* for the *Press of India.* We cannot conceive of any Hindu home or the home of any Seeker after Truth without a copy of the monthly *Arya*, which is not a monthly journal but in fact, a number of books published in chapter

The secondsection of the opening article of the *Press of India* is adapted from Mrs. Annie Besant's opening article in the *Commonweal* started at the beginning of 1914.

1914—A RETROSPECT.

It is long, very long since we passed a year so crowded with important events as the present one. It began in the throes of the South African struggle and ends now in the middle of the most momentous and cruelest war the world has yet suffered. Scarcely had the excitement of the South African question ceased to trouble us, when we had a rapid succession of important events, events of no small consequence to the progress of the country. The Council of India Bill, the martyrdom of Snehalata, the sailing of the *Komagata Maru* to Canada, the tour of the Royal Commissionson Public Services,

the Co-operative Commission and lastly the War—these are the chief episodes which mark the year's history, apart from the ordinary work of administration and legislature. The list is certainly a long one, and, it looks as if years had passed since the 1st of January 1914.

First we shall recall the important aspects of the struggle for the rocognition of our rights in the Colonies. In South Africa, we have succeeded in getting the Union Government to consent to terms which permit our countrymen to live honourably. The more serious of the disabilities imposed on them have been removed. The £3 tax is gone; the Union Government recognises Indian marriages so long as one man has only one wife in the Colony, and the minimum possible facilities for inter-provincial intercourse have been granted. But it should not be supposed, as there is a tendency to do, that the question of our rights in the Union is solved. What we have gained is the right of living without dishonour; but that is quite different from the status which we, as fellow-citizens of the Empire, are entitled to receive in the British Colonies. The franchise which was taken away in 1896-7 has not yet been granted and thus our countrymen have no status in the political machinery of the Government. And there are still hundreds of indentured coolies leading the lives of slaves in the Natal plantations. Theyhave to be liberated, and what is equally important, steps should be taken to see that hereafter no Indians are compelled to lead such lives. Further there is the question, pertaining to the other self-governing Colonies of the Empire as well, of our right to enter any Colony, the subjects of which have free access to this country. It is the denial of this claim that led to the regrettable incident of the *Komagata Maru* passengers; but for it, to-day they would have been earning their honest livelihood in Canada in the compny of and to the joy of their Sikh brethren there. The right to enter was denied and they had to return to India.

The work of the Congress Deputation, the members of which left for England on April 18th, falls within the scope of this article. Those who managed to snatch a brief visit had no good opportunity by reason of the pre-occupation of the people of England with the Home Rule controversy. All the same, they were able to do good work, specially regarding the Council of India Bill with reference to which Lord Crewe gave the Deputation a private interview; the request for this did not pass though the Government of India—the usual channel which red tape requires. The Deputation was also in a position to influence English opinion regarding the Press Act and several other grievances of Indian people. Their most noteworthy piece of activity was, however, with relation to the Council of India Bill, and if Lord Curzon had not stepped in with his fellows to crush the Bill, the Deputation would have been in a position to do much more. We must put on record Mrs. Besant's active co-operation with the Congress representatives which proved effective.

Early in the year, it leaked out that on the retirement of Sir John Atkinson, Sir Harold Stuart would be appointed Senior Member, thus superseding the Hon. Mr. P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, who was then third in the Council. The responsibilities of the Senior Member, it was contended, were great, if the

Governor should be absent temporarily; but no case was made out to show that the Hon. Mr. Iyer could not discharge them. Further, Sir Harold Stuart is the Vice-President of the Legislative Council, an appointment which should have gone to Mr. Iyer if claims of seniority alone had been taken into account. This double supersession naturally provoked resentment in the country and it was expected by many that Mr. Sivaswamy Iyer would show his own feelings in the matter by sending his resignation. This expectation was, however, not realised and Mr. Iyer continues to be in the Council. Unfortunately the Government maintained a discreet silence to the very end and it is not yet known for exactly what reasons the supersession took place. The only place to elicit this information is the Imperial Legislative Council failing which, the House of Commons.

In the matter of Social Reform, the most important event of the year was the self-immolation of Snehalata because of the difficulty of her father to secure her a suitable husband except at a ruinous cost. The girl, after writing a very pathetic letter, which by the way is believed by some to be not genuine, she drenched her clothes in kerosine oil and burnt herself to a heroic death. The incident caused a very deep sensation in Bengal and this was maintained for a long time by the fate of several other girls who followed Snehalata's example. For a time it was felt that substantially good results would come out of her martyrdom but the leaders of Bengal failed to take advantage of the incident. They had some meetings and formed an association with the object of doing away with the dowry system and some of the most orthodox persons, chiefly pandits, joined the social reformers in furthering that praiseworthy ideal. But all that was accomplished was to get the promises of some young men not to accept dowries and also the assurances of some parents that they would neither give nor receive them. All these promises were duly broken by several of these signatories and after a further short struggle, the movement seems to have come to a collapse as speedy as its growth from the ashes of the brave girl.

Another prominent incident in the cause of Social Reform was the common inter-caste dinner at the Poona Social Conference, but in this case the end was very disappointing. When some of the orthodox people threatened to excommunicate the people for their open violation of their caste rules, these Social Reformers are reported to have performed the necessary *prayaschittam* ceremony and thus gave an example of moral cowardice of the most disgraceful type.

Unique and refreshing, while compared with this, is the brave stand made by certain Bhatia leaders against excommunication for having crossed over the seas, though the intended victims strictly observed the caste rules during the voyage as well as during their stay in England. The persons who were thus threatened formed a new caste and have thus shown a way to all reformers to defy the orthodox party. No caste can hope to prosper in these days as a separate entity unless it has the support and goodwill of its prominent members, and when by its conservatism and muddle-headedness these are driven out, the doom of the caste may be taken to be fairly in sight.

All these three incidents—the failure of the anti-dowry agitation, the surrender of the Social Reformers who were present at the inter-caste dinner at Poona, as well as the secession of the leaders of the Bhatia caste—have a promising aspect, for there have been of value and have taught us a lesson. And to a student of the history of Social Reform in India, the end of the three incidents is not in the least discouraging. A few years ago, it would have been far more painful. The martyrdom of Snehalata has not been without its influence on the young men of Bengal and even on the rest of India; the white flag which the cowardly Social Reformers of the Western Presidency hoisted at the sight of the monster of orthodoxy, is both a warning and an indication on the progress march of those that will follow. Behind these outward manifestations, the year has given many signs of improvement. And none but the ignorant can fail to observe the progressive destruction of caste barriers in the whole country. Foreign travel is becoming more common; the movement for marriage after puberty is gaining ground, and has raised its head in the Madras Legislative Council, thanks to the Hon. Mr. V. S. Sreenivasa Sastri; and the desire for the union of the sub-sects is observable every here and there. The pecentage of girls under instruction is increasing and there is a persistent demand for schools of a higher standard. All these are omens which every reformer must welcome with a joyous heart.

From Social Reform to Anarchy is certainly not "a far cry," though at first sight it may seem so. Anarchism is bound to disappear when our reformers shall have achieved the first few steps in their programme. It has no greater enemy than enlightenment, and exactly that type of enlightenment which all true social reformers are desirous of. We shall not here narrate the rather long and sickening list of anarchist attempts which stain the annals of the closing year. Suffice it to say that the anarchists have given enough reminders of their existence in our midst. Many of these have been brought to book during the year but the number of those still free is not small. The Government are evidently on the watch; but as in past years, they are following a somewhat vexatious policy which, as history has proved to us, has not been successful. Without the active co-operation of the people the stamping out of anarchism is an impossibility, and the ways of the police and the C.I.D. are still such that they repel all popular co-operation. To this weakness we must trace the failure of some of the conspiracy cases as well. We do not in the least cast any doubts on the innocence or guilt of the persons discharged or acquitted in the unsuccessful prosecutions; but the very failure itself shows that either the police could not get the necessary evidence or apprehended wrong persons. These cases must have opened the eyes of the Government of Bengal to the serious drawbacks in their police office department. Some persons must have been guilty in each of these cases; but police pitched upon the wrong and innocent people and, after a long and exciting trial, the police had to confess their failure. We do not know whether the Government are in the habit of taking stock of the situation as it developed during the year, and if they do so, the history of the anarchical trouble cannot fail to convey very valuable lessons to the Bengal Government.

Early in the year a very representative Conference sat at Simla to consider the question of religious endowments, to discuss chiefly, whether their surplus funds could be devoted to educational activities. Another important gathering was the first Indian Science Congress, which met at Calcutta in the third week of January under the presidency of Sir Asutosh Mukerjee. The Congress has a wide scope for work and is likely to be an annual gathering. The most noted Bill of the year was the one which amended the Conspiracy Law and which was passed in the teeth of violent opposition from some elected members. As in the case of the Press Act, a few popular representatives took a very mild view of the measure and this strengthened, if not stiffened, the attitude of the Government. Soon after its passing, the Government of India laid their hand on another repressive measure, in the case of which, however, they would have had to face a fairly united front from the elected members. Fortunately the War intervened, and it is reported that the further consideration of the Bill has been indefinitely postponed. This year's budget was very disappointing specially in the Departments of Education and Sanitation, for both of which the Finance Member was able to make only nominal grants. The railways had, of course, their fill of 12 millions sterling and there was a rise of nearly half a million in the military expenditure. There was a fall in the Irrigation BIll ; and agriculture too failed to receive prominent attention. In the Provincial Council, the Local Governments had two defeats, one in Bengal over the advisability of establishing a mixed Committee to decide on sanitary progress, and one in Madras on the desirability of postponing the consideration of a contentious piece of legislation. These reminders of the power of the popular representatives are of the utmost importance and show us in which direction the wind is blowing. Happily in both the cases the Governor did not use his power of vetoing the recommendation of the Council, thus setting an example to other provincial administrators as to the policy they should pursue when their bureaucratic spirit receives these welcome checks,

Among friends of India, we have to record she loss of Lord Minto and Lord Roberts. the sad death of Lady Hardinge took place at the time of the movement to lengthen the tenure of the Viceroy's office. The movement received thus a sharp check, but it will soon be revived, the initiative being taken probably by the National Congress at this year's session.

The eventful year is closing in the midst of active, useful and valuable discussion all over the country about uniting the two Congress parties and thus making our National Institution a strong body which will voice the hopes and aspirations of the Motherland. A pleasent feature in this is the presence of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who has during the year come in our midst to take up his labour of love for the sake of his country.

Thus the year lies behind us– but what od the future ? The War has done us untolrf good abroad, life and hope are pulsating our very air at home, and our eyes are watching for the drawning of the New Day when India will be a self-governing country within the Empire, and then again we all will rend the air with the same old cry, as we have done many a time before in our long history—"Bande Mataram", "Worship the Mother."—*The Commonweal.*

THOUGHTS FOR THE YEAR.

1. We fight to win sublime Wisdom; therefore men call us warriors. (Book of Wisdom).

2. Put Wisdom at the head of the world; the world will fight its battle victoriously and will be the best world that men can constitute. (Carlyle).

3. This Wisdom is the principle of all things. (The Zohar)

4. This mysterious Wisdom is the supreme principle of all. (id)

5. I, Wisdom, dwell with prudence and find out knowledge of witty inventions .... Counsel is mine and sound knowledge. I am understanding. I am strength. By me Kings reign and princes decree justice. By me princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth. I love them that love me. And those that seek me shall find me. Riches and honour are with me; yea, durable riches and righteousness. My fruit is better than gold, yea, than fine gold; and my revenue than choice silver. I lead in the way of righteousness, in the midst of the paths of judgment, that I may cause those that love me to inherit substance; and I will fill their treasures .... I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning before ever the earth was. When there were no depths, I was brought forth; when there were no fountains abounding with water, before the mountains were settled, before the hills were, I was brought forth. (Proverbs)

6. I am the mother of pure love and of science and of sacred hope. (Ecclesiasticus).

7. Wisdom is a thing of which one can never have enough. (Minokhired).

8. Wisdom is the most precious riches. (Chinese Buddhistic Scriptures).

9. How much better is it to get wisdom than gold! and to get understanding rather to be chosen than silver. (Proverbs).

10. To have wisdom is worth more than pearls. (Job).

11. Happy is the man that findeth wisdom and the man that getteth understanding. For the merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver and the gain thereof than fine gold. She is more precious than rubies and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared unto her. Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace. She is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her, and happy is everyone that retaineth her. (Proverbs).

12. The possession of wisdom leadeth to true happiness. (Porphyry).

13. In this state of pure felicity the soul is enlarged and the material substance that is subject to her profiteth also. (Theng-Tseu).

14. Wisdom strengtheneth the wise more than ten mighty men which are in a city. (Ecclesiasticus).

15. Wisdom is greater than all terrestrial sciences and than all human knowledge She renders a man indiffrent to the joys of the world and permits him to consider with an impassive heart their precipitous and tumultous course. (Fa-khen-pi-u).

16. A happy life is the fruit of wisdom achieved; life bearable, of wisdom commenced. (Seneca).

17. Wisdom is a well-spring of life unto him that hath it. (Proverbs.)

18. Who loves her loves life and they that keep vigil to find her shall enjoy her peace. Whosoever possesses her, shall have life for his inheritance. (Ecclesiasticus).

19. Of all our possessions, wisdom alone is immortal. (Socrates).

20. The desire for wisdom leads us to the Eternal Kingdom. (Book of Wisdom).

21. Wisdom is full of light and her beauty is not withered. (id).

22. Wisdom is like unto a beacon set on high, which radiates its light even in the darkest night. (Buddhist Meditations from the Japanese).

23. And when the benevolence of benvolences monifests itself, all things are in her light and in joy. (The Zohar).

24. That which satisfies the soul is the wisdom which governs the world. (id).

25. Honour to the high and sublime excellance of wisdom ! (Lalita Vistara).

26. But where shall wisdom be found ? and where is the place of understanding ? (Formula of devotion of Mahayanist Buddhism).

27. As the light of a torch illumines the objects in a dark room, even so the light of wisdom illumines all men, whososver they be, if they turn towards it. (Job.)

28. Those who love her discover her easily and those that seek her do find her. (To-shu-hingtsan king).

29. Wisdom is a thing vast and grand. She demands all the time that one can consecrate to her. (Book of Wisdom).

30. To find our real being and know it truly is to acquire wisdom. (Seneca).

31. Only by falling back on our better thought, by yielding to the spirit of prophecy which is innate in every man, can we know what that wisdom saith. (Prophyry).

32. The beginning of Wisdom is the sincere desire for instruction. The observe attentively its laws is to establish the perfect purity of the soul. (Emerson).

33. Behold the beginning of wisdom; therefore get wisdom ; and with all thy getting, get understanding. Exalt her and she shall promote thee. She shall bring thee to honour, when thou dost embrace her. She shall give to thine head an ornament of grace ; a crown of glory shall she deliver to thee. (Book of Wisdom.)

34. Thou shalt invest thyself with her as with a raiment of glory and thou shalt put her on thy head as a crown of joy. (Proverbs).

35. Say unto wisdom, "Thou art my sister", and call understanding thy kinskwoman. (Ecclesiasticus).

36. For wisdom shall enter into thine heart and knowledge be pleasant unto thy soul. (Proverbs).

37. Having thought of these things, meditating on them in my heart and having considered that I shall find immortality in the union with wisdom, I went in search of her on all sides, that I might take her for my companion (Book of Wisdom).

38. I have preferred wisdom to kingdoms and thrones and I have believed that riches are nothing before wisdom, for she is an endless treasure for men. (ibid.)

39. I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought and on the labour that I had laboured to do: and behold, all was vanity and pursuit of the wind and there was no profit under the sun. And I turned myself to behold wisdom, and madness and folly...Then I saw that wisdom excelleth folly as far as light excelleth darkness. (Ecclesiasticus).

40. I have learnt all that was hidden and all that was yet undiscovered because I was taught by wisdom herself that created everything. For there is in her a spirit of intelligence which is holy, unique, multiple in her effects, fine, copious, agile, spotless, dear, soft, friendly to good, penetrant, which nothing can prevent from acting, benevolent, friendly to men, kind, stable, infallible, calm, that achieves all, that sees all, that can comprehend all minds in itself, that is intelligible, pure and subtle. (Book of Wisdom).

41. Eternal wisdom builds: I shall be her palace when she finds repose in me and I in her. (Angelus Silesius)

42. All wisdom is one: to understand the spirit that rules all by all. (Heractitus).

43. Being but one, she is capable of all; immutable in herself, she renews all things; she diffuses herself among the nations in saintly souls. (The Book of Wisdom).

44. The dayspring from on high has visited us, to give light to them that sit in the darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet in the way of Peace. (St. Luke).

45. Whatsower things were written aforetime, were written for our learning. (Episistle to the Romans).

46. True knowledge does not grow old, so have declared the sages of all times. (Buddhist Connons in Pali.)

47. May the partisans of all doctrines in all countries unite and live in a common fellowship. For all alike profess mastery to be attained over oneself and purity of the heart. (Inscriptions of Asoka).

48. There is only one Ethics, as there is only one geometry. But the majority of men, it will be said, are ignorant of geometry. Yes, but as soon as they begin to apply themselves a little to that science, all are in agreement. Cultivators, workmen, artisans have not gone through courses in ethics; they have not read Cicero or Aristotle, but the moment they begin to think on the subject they become, without knowing it, the disciples of Cicero. The Indian dyer, the Tartar shepherd and the English sailor know what is just and what is unjust. Confucius did not invent a system of ethics as one invents a system of physics. He had discovered it in the heart of all mankind. (Voltaire.)

49. The sage's rule of moral conduct has its principle in the hearts of all men. (Tseu-tse).

50. There is a primary law, eternal, invariable, engraved in the hearts of all; it is Right Reason. Never does it speak in vain to the virtuous man, whether it ordains or prohibits. The wicked alone are untouched by its voce. It is easy to be understood and is not different in one country and in another; it is to-day what it will be to-morrow and for all time. (Cicoro).

51. Language is different but man is the same everywhere. That is why spoken

Reason is one, and through its translation we see it to be the same in Egypt, in Persia and in Greece. (Hermes).

52. But in what circumstances does our reason teach us that there is vice or virtue? How does this continual mystery work? Tell me, inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago, Africans, Canadians and you, Plato, Cicero, Epictetus! You all feel equally that it is better to give away the superfluity of your bread, your rice or your manioc to the indigent than to kill him or tear out his eyes. It is evident to all on earth that an act of benevolence is better than an outrage, that gentleness is preferable to wrath. We have merely to use our Reason in order to discern the shades which distinguish right and wrong. Good and evil are often close neighbours and our passions confuse them. Who will enlighten us? We ourselves when we are calm. (Voltaire).

53. In order to live a happy life, man should understand what life is and what he can or cannot do. The best and wisest men in all nations have taught it to us from alt times. All the doctrines of the sages meel in their foundation and it is this general sum of their doctrines, revealing the aim of human life and the conduct to be pursued, that constitutes real religion. (Tolstoi).

54. The man who does not think about religion, imagines that there is only one that is true, the one in which he was born. But thou hast only to ask thyself what would happen if thou wert born in another religion, thou, Christian, if thou wert born a Mahomedan, thou, Buddhist, a Christian and thou, Mahomedan, a Brahmin. Is it possible that we alone with our religion should be in the truth and that all others should be subjected to falsehood? No religion can become true merely by the persuading thyself or persuading others that it alone is true. (Ibid).

55. No man has a right to constrain another to think like himself. Each must bear with patience and indulgence the beliefs of others. (Giordano Bruno).

56. To compel men to do what appears good to oneself is the best means of making them disgusted with it. (Ramakrishna).

57. As one can go up to the top of a house by means of a ladder, a bamboo or a flight of stairs, so are there various means for approaching the Eternal and each religion in the world shows only one of such means. (Ibid),

58. A truly religious man ought to think that the other religions are also paths leading towards the Reality. We should always maintain an attitude of respect towards other religions. (Ibid).

59. Decry not other sects nor depreciate them but, on the contrary, render honour to that in them which is worthy of honour. (Inscriptions of Asoka).

60. The Catholic is our brother but the materialist not less. We owe him deference as to the greatest of believers. (Antonie the Healer).

61. At a certain stage in the path of devotion the religious man finds satisfaction in the Divinity with a form, at another stage in the formless Impersonal. (Ramakrishna).

62. The man who proclaims the existence of the Infinite accumulates, in this affirmation, more of the supernatural than there is in the miracles of all the religions. So long as the mystery of the Infinite weighs upon human thought, temples will be raised for the cult of the Infinite. (Pastaur).

63. Bow down and adore where others bend the knee; for where so great a number of men pay the tribute of their adoration, the Impersonal must needs manifest Himself, for He is all compassion. (Ramakrishna).

64. The ordinary man says in his ignorance; "My religion is the sole religion, my religion is the best," But when his heatt is illumined by the true knowledge, he knows that beyond all the battles of sects and of sectaries presides the one, indivisible, eternal and omniscient Benediction. (Ibid).

65. The Universe is a Unity. (Philolaus).

66. All is with One in power and the One is in all in act. (Abraham-ibn-Ezra).

67. The Essence of all things is one and identical. (Aswaghosha).

68. I looked on high and I beheld in all the spaces that which is One; below, in all the form of the water that which is One; I looked into the heart, it was a sea, a span for world peopled with thousands of dreams; I saw in all the dreams that which is One. (Jelaludin Rumi).

69. All that exists is but the transformation of one and the same matter and is therefore one and the same thing. (Disgenes of Apollonia).

70. All souls are merely determinations of the Universal Soul. Bodies taken separately are only varied and transient powers of material substance. (Kapila).

71. The infinite variety of particular objects constitutes one sole identical Rays, (Giordino Bruno).

72. To know that unity is the aim of all philosophy and of all knowledge of nature. True knowledge leads to unity, ignorance to diversity. (Ramakrishna).

73. The rays of the divine sun, the infinite Orient, shins quickly on all that exists and the illumination of Unity repeats itself everywhere. (Baba-ullah).

74. The Universe is a Unity. (Anax agoras).

75. In the world of Unity Heaven and Earth are one. (Baha ullah).

76. We share one intelligence with heaven and the stars. (Macrobius).

77. When we speak of the efficient cause of the universe, we mean, obviously the active Being,—the Being active and effective everywhere; we mean, then, that universal Intelligence which appears to be the principal faculty of the World-Soul and, as it were the general form of the universe. (Giordano Bruno).

78. There is in the universe one power of infinite Thought, (Leibnitz).

79. The Idea is cause and end of things. (Giordano Bruno).

80. As one sun illumines all this world, so the conscious Idea illumines all the physical field. (Bhagavad-Gita).

81. Matter and Spirit are one since the first beginning. (Aswaghosha).

82. In the true nature of Matter is the fundamental law of the Spirit. In the true nature of Spirit is the fundamental law of matter. (Ibid).

83. He who abases Matter, abases himself and all creation. (Oersted).

84. The physical world is only a reflection of the spiritual. (Antoine the Healer.)

85. Wherever you find movement, there you find life and a soul. (Thales).

86. Life pervades and animates everything; it gives its movement to Nature and subjects her to itself. (Giordano Bruno).

87. All is living. (Hermes).

88. The universe is a living thing and all lives in it. (Giordano Bruno).

89. The whole universe is life, force and action. (Ibid).

90. Each separate movement is produced by the same energy that moves the sum of things. (Hermes.

91. Will is the soul of the universe. (Schopenhauer).

92. Whence come these beings? What is this creation? (Rig Teda).

93. From the immobile stone to the supreme principle creation consists in the differentiation of existences. (Sankhya Pravachana).

94. Then Non-being was not, nor Being. What was that ocean profound and inpenetrable?

Then death was not, nor immortality... That was one and lived without the breath by Its own permanence. There was nothing else beyond It.

Darkness concealed in darkness in the beginning was all this ocean...When chaos atomic covered it, then That which is One was born by the vastness of Its energy.

Desire in the beginning became active—desire the first seed...

Who knoweth of this? who here can declare it, whence this creation was born, whence, was this loosing forth of things? The gods exist below by thecreation; who then can know whence it was born?

Whence this creation came into being, whether He established it or did not establish it, He who regards it from above in the supreme ether, He knows,—or perhaps He knows it not. (Rig Veda).

95. That which was before all individual existence, and which was without action although capaple of action, is that which preceded heaven and eath. (Hoci Nan. Tse),

96. Essence without form divided itself; then a movement took place and life was produced. (Tchuang-Tse).

97. In the beginning all this was Non-being. From it Being appearec. Itself created itself. (Taittiriya Upanishad).

98. Seek out that from which all existences are born, by which being born they live and to which they return...From Delight all these existences were born, by Delight they liver towards Delight they. (Ibid).

99. Who knoweth things? Who can speak of them? (Big Veda).

100. Things in their fundamental nature can neither be named nor explained. They cannot be expressed adequately in any form of language. (Aswaghosha).

101. Trying to give an idea of the Ineffable by the help of philosophical learning is like trying to give an idea of Benares by the aid of a paper picture. (Ramakrishna).

102. All the sacred scriptures of the world have become corrupted, but the Ineffable or Absolute has never been corrupted because no one has ever been able to express It in human speech. (Ibid).

103. Words fail us when we seek, not to express Him who I, but merely to attain to the expression of the powers that environ Him. (Philo).

104. He is pure of all name. (The Bab).

105. The word "He" diminishes Him. (Tolstoi).

106. But call him by what name you will; for those who know, He is the possessor of all names. (Baha-Ullah).

107. Numerous writers' names of the Ineffable and Infinite the forms which lead towards Him. (Ramakrishna).

108. Under whatever name or in whatever form you desire to enter into relation with Him it is in that form and under that name that you will see Him. Would you call Him Destiny? You will not be wrong From law. (Sencca).

109. That which is is One. Sages speak of it in many terms. (Rig Veda).

110. I do not believe that any name, however complex, is sufficient to designate the principal of all Majesty. (Hennes).

111. That which is Permanent, possess no attribute by which one can speak of it, but the term Permanent is all that can be expressed by language. (Aswaghosha).

112. The Permanent is neither existence, nor what is at once existence and non-existence; it is neither unity, nor plurality, nor what is at once unity and plurality. (Ibid).

113. Something beyond our power of discrimination existed before Heaven and Earth. How profound is its calm! How absolute its immateriality! It alone exists and does not change; It penetrates all and it does not perish. It may be regarded as the mother of the universe. For myself I know not Its name, but to give it a name I call It Tao. (Has Tse).

114. There is no suitable name for the eternal Tao. (Ibid).

115. The Tao which can be expressed is not the eternal Tao, the name which can be named is not the eternal Name. (Ibid).

116. The man who knows the Tao, does not speak; he who speaks, knows It not. (Ibid).

117. The eternal Tao has no name; when the Tao divided Itself, then It had a name. (Ibid).

118. If thou say, "Who is the Ancient and most Holy?" come then and see,—it is the supreme head, unknowable, inaccessible, indefinable, and it contains all. (The Zohar).

119. The name of the Ancient and most Holy is unknowable to all and inaccessible. (Ibid).

120. And it is inaccessible, unknowable and beyond comprehension for all. (Ibid).

121. It is truly the supreme Light inaccessible and unknowable, from which all other lamps receive their flame and their splendour. (Ibid).

122. That which has neither body, nor appearance, nor form, nor matter, nor can be seized by our senses, That which cannot be expressed,—this is God. (Hermes).

123. It is not to-day nor tomorrow; whos knoweth That which is Suprme? When It is approached It vanished. (The Rig Veda).

124. Is there a single man who can see what the Sage cannot even congeive? (Tseu Tse).

125. No man hath seen God at any time (John).

126. If He were apparent, He would not be. (Hermes).

127. Yes, His very splendour is the cause of his invisibility. (Balia Ullah).

128. The more thou knowest God, the more thou wilt recognise that thou can not name Him, nor say what He is. (Angelius Silesius).

129. To comprehend God is difficult, to speak of Him impossible. (Hermes).

130. Thinkest thou that thou canst write the name of God on Time? No more is it pronounced in Eternity. (Angelius Silesius).

131. He who speaks best of God is he who in the presence of the plenitude of the interior riches, knows best how to be silent. (Eckart).

132. O Inexpressible, Ineffable, whom silence alone can name! (Hermes).

133. I salute It, this supreme Deity which is beyond the senses, which mind and speech cannot define and which can be discerned only by the mind of the true sage. (Vishnu Purana).

134. If thou canst comprehend God, thou shalt comprehend the Beautiful and the Good, the pure radiance, the incomparable beouty, the good that has not its like. (Hermes).

135. The essence of God, if at all God as an essence, is Beauty. (Ibid).

136. God is Light. (John).

137. He is the supreme Light hidden under overy veil. (The Zohar).

138. His name is conscious spirit, His abode is conscious spirit and He, the Lord, is all conscious spirit. (Ramakrisna).

139. Knowledge belongs to the very essence of God, if at all God has no essenc. (Hermes).

140. God is not knowledge, but the cause of Knowledge; He is not mind, but the cause of mind; He is not Light, but the cause of Light. (Ibid).

141. He is the principle of supreme Wisdom. (The Zohar).

142. God is spirit, fire, being and light, and yet He is not all this. (Angelius Silesius).

143 He is an eternal silence. (Ibid),

144. No name is applicable to God, only He is called Love,—so great and precious a thing is Love. (Ibid).

145. God is Love. (John).

146. Love which overflows on every side, which is found in the centre of the stars, which is in the depths of the Ocean,—Love whose perfume declares itself everywhere, which nourishes all the kingdoms of Nature and which maintains equilibrium and harmony in the whole universe. (Antoine the Healer).

147. Victory to the Essence of all wisdom, to the unmoving, to the Imperishable! Victory to the Eternal, to the essence of visible and invisible beings, to Him who is at the same time the cause and the effect of the universe. (The Vishnu Purana).

148. He who contemplates the supreme Truth, contemplates the perfect Essence, only the vision of the spirit can see this nature of ineffable perfection. (Buddhist Meditations from the Japanese).

149. God or the Good, what is it but the existence of that which yet is not? (Hermes).

150. The supreme Brahman without beginning cannot be called either Being or Non-being. (Bhagavad Gita).

151. It is that which is and that which is not. (Hermes).

152. It is Itself that which was and that which is yet to be, the Eternal. (Kaivalya Upanishad).

153. It is He who engenders Himself perpetually............the Lord of existences and of non-existences. Egyptian Funeral Rites).

154. His creation never had a beginning and will never have an end. (The Bab).

155. Becoming is the mode of activity of the uncreated God. (Hermes).

156. In the bosom of Time God without beginning becomes what He has never been in all eternity. (Angelus Silesius).

157. Time is nothing else than the uninterrupted succession of the acts of divine Energy, one of the attributes or one of the workings of the Deity. Space is the extension of His soul; it is His unfolding in length, breadth and height; it is the simultaneous existence of His productions and manifestations. (Giordano Bruno).

158. As from a fire that is burning brightly sparks of a like nature are produced in their thousands, so from the Unmoving manifold becomings are born and thither also they wend. (Mundaka Upanishad).

159. The Tao is diffused in the universe. All existences return to It as streams and mountain rivulets return to the rivers and the seas. (Las-tse)

160. Even as the sun rises to us and sets, so also for the creation there are alternations of existence and death. (Hari-vansa).

161. At the close of the great Night...... He whom the spirit alone can perceive., who escapes from the organs of sense, who is without visible parts, Eternal, the soul of all existences, whom none can comprehend, outspread His own splendours. (Laws of Manu).

162. For what is God? He is the soul oft he universe. (Seneca).

163. He is the soul of all conscious creatures, who constitutes all things in this world, those which are beyond our senses and those which fall within their range. (Aswaghosha).

164. For of all things He is the Lord and Father and Source, and the life and power and light and intelligence and mind. (Hermes).

165. He is everywhere in the world and stands with all in His embrace. (Bhagavad Gita.)

166. There is not a body, however small, which does not enclose a portion of the divine substance. (Giordano Bruno).

167 For all is full of God. (Hermes).

168. All this is full of that Being, (Swetaswatara Upanishal).

169. The fire divine burns indivisible and ineffable and fills all the abysses of the world. (Iamblichus).

170. All the aspects of the sea are not different from the sea; nor is there any

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difference between the universe, and its supreme Principle. (Chandogya Upanishad).

171 In truth there is no difference between the word of God and the world (Baha-ullah).

172. God and Nature are one. (Spinoza).

173. That which is most subtle in matter is air, in air the soul, in the soul intelligence, in intelligence God. (Hermes).

174. Material energy in Matter, physical energy in the body, essential energy in the essence, all that in its entirety is God and in the universe there is nothing which is not God. (Ibid).

175. In the universe there is nothing which God is not. God is all and all is God. (Ibid).

176-7. Heaven and Earth are only a talisman which conceals the Deity; without It they are but vain a name. Knew then that the invisible are God himself. There is only He and all that is, is He. (Eckhart).

178. He is all things and all things are one. (Zohar).

179 Just as unity is in each of the numbers, so God is one in all things. (Angelus Silesius).

180. All that is one and one that is all. (Hermes).

181. He who is alone uncreated is then by that very fact unrevealed and invisible, but, manifesting all things, He reveals Himself in them and by them. (Ibid).

182. All reflects Him in His shining and by his light all this is luminous. (Katha Upanishad).

183. As the principle of Fire is one but having entered this world assumes shapes that correspond to each different form, so the one Self in all existences assumes shapes that correspond to each form of things. (Ibid).

184. He has a form and He is as if He had no form. He has taken a form in order to be the essence of all. (Zohar).

185. The devotee who has seen the One in only one of his aspects, knows Him in that aspect alone. But he who has seen Him in numerous aspects is alone in a position to say; "All these forms are those of the One and the One is multiform." He is without form and in form, and numberless are His forms which we do not know. (Ramakrishna).

186. Such is God, superior to His name, invisible and apparent, who reveals Himself to the spirit, who reveals Himself to the eyes, who has no body and who has many bodies or rather all bodies; for there is nothing which is not He and all is He alone. (Hermes).

187. God invisible....say not so; for who is more apparent than He? That is the goodness of God, that is His virtue, to be apparent in all. (Ibid).

188. If thou comprehend Him, what seems invisible to most, will be for thee utterly apparent. (Ibid).

189. If thou canst, thou mayest see Him by the eyes of the intelligence, for the Lord is not a miser of Himself; He reveals Himself in the whole universe. (Ibid).

190. Thou shalt meet Him everywhere, thou shalt see Him everywhere, in the place and at the hour when thou least expectest it, in waking and in sleep, on the sea

in thy travels, by day, by night, in thy speaking and in thy keeping of silence. For there is nothing that is not the image of God. (Ibid).

191. Raise thyself above every height, descend below every depth, assemble in thyself all the sensations of created things, of water, of fire, of the dry, of the moist; suppose that thou art at once everywhere, on earth, in the sea, in the heavens, that thou wast never born, that thou art still in the womb, that thou art young, old, dead beyond death; comprehend all at once, times, spaces, things, qualities, and thou shalt comprehend God. (Ibid).

192. Surpass all bodies, traverse all times, become eternity, and thou shalt comprehend God. (Ibid).

193. The Being whom I declare is not isolated. The whole wolrd is the Being. (Farid-ud-din Attar).

194. It is the one and the same being that manifests in all that lives. (Schopenhauer).

195. Individual existences are merely modifications of the Divine qualities. (Spinoza).

196. Every man whose heart is free from doubt, knows with certitude that there is no being save one alone. (Gulschen-raz).

197. The word "I" belongs rightly to none but God. (Upanishad).

198. The one God, hidden in all things, who pervades all things and is the inner self of all creatures, who presides over all actions and dwells in all existences. (Swetaswatara Upanishad).

199. He who abiding in the mind is unknown to mind, whom the mind knows not, of whom the mind is the body, who withni governs the mind; He is thy inward guide and immortal. (Brihadaranyaka Upanishad).

200. Without being divided in creatures, It dwells in them as if divided. (Bhagavad Gita).

201. He sees rightly who beholds the Supreme dwelling equally in all existences and not perishing wheh they perish. (Ibid).

202. Things in their fundamental nature are subject neither to transformation nor to destruction. They are all one single soul. (Aswaghosha).

203. It is not the individuals venerable to us who are modified it is the immortal sublime which is modified in each of them. And to that substance what other name shall we give but first substance? It is this which is and becomes. It is the eternal God, and we err when we forget His name and form and see only the names and forms of each individual. (Apollonius).

204. And these bodies that end are of an eternal soul, indestructible and immeasurable, unborn, everlasting,ancient all-pervading, stable, immobile, not manifest,, beyond thought, immutable—as such it should be known. (Bhagavad Gita).

205. Since it is without beginning or quality, this supreme Self, imperishable though residing in a body,Ais situated everywhere and remains in the body untouched and unstained. (Ibid).

206. One soul is distributed among all unreasoning existences, one intelligent soul is shared by all beings that have reason. (Marcus Aurelius),

207. For there is one world formed of all, one God pervading all, one substance, one Law, one Reason, common to all intelligent beings. (Ibid).

208. What is Reason? It is a portion of the divine Spirit that is diffused in our bodies. (Seneca).

209. It is the Spirit that is in men, it is the breath of the Almighty that gives them understanding. (Job).

210. He is the intelligence in every living creature. (Upanishad.

211. I am the Self who abides in the heart of all beings. (Bhagaved Gita).

212. I am the beginning, the middle and the end of all existences. (Ibid).

213. Turn thy regard on thyself that thou mayst find Me erect within thee. Baha-ullah.

214. Who is so low that one can see all His aspects? Who is so high that one cannot attain to Him? The One concealed whose name is unknown! He is among men and close to the gods, when they live and when they die. Without cessation He holds their existence in His hand. They are in Him eternally. (Fragment of a hymn to Ptah).

215. He who is here in man and He who is there in the Sun, is the same. (Taittiriya Upanished).

216. The Lord who is established in the secret place of every soul, pervades the whole universe. (Swetaswatara Upanishad).

217. He is the Light of all lights that is beyond the darkness; He is the knowledge and the object of knowledge and its goal and dwells in the heart of all. (Bhagavad Gita).

218. The Lord dwells in the heart of all beings and He turns all of them as upon a machine by His Maya. (Ibid.)

219. The jewel of the perfect nature clear and luminous as the sun dwells in every being. (Buddhist Meditations from the Japanese),

220. This is that truth and immortality in which all the worlds and their creatures are established; this know for the supreme aim. (Mundaka upanishad).

221. In all hearts dwells the shining One, so have the sages declared. (Sikh Granth).

222. Now life has this sense, that as our consciousness becomes more and more clear, it discloses in us God. (Tostai).

223. Yes, we need a new revelation about Hell and Heaven, but the spirit which lives in us. (Channing).

224. Let man then learn the revelation of all Nature and all thought to his heart; this, namely, that the Highest dwells with him, that the sources of Nature are in his own mind. (Emerson.)

225. The Light that shines most high of all, higher than every other thing, in the highest world beyond which there is no other, is the same light that is in man. (Chandogya Upanishad).

226. Its name is the God in man. (Laotse).

227. The soul of every man contains God in potentiality. (Vivekananda).

228. The seed of the Divinity is planted in our bodies. (Seneca).

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229. He is called the supreme self in his body and the supreme Soul. (Bhagavad Gita).

230. A holy spirit dwells in our soul. (Sceneca).

231. The soul and self within established in the heart of man. (Swetaswatra Upanishad).

232. God is not where we believe Him to be; He is in ourselves. (Antoine the Healer).

233. The Kingdom of Heaven is within us. (Luke).

234. For the throne of God is in our hearts, His kingdom is within us. (Tauler).

235. He himself is within us, so that we are His vessels, His living temples His incarnations. (Epictetus).

236. We are the temple of the living God. (Corinthians).

237. Know you not that you are the temple of God and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? (Ibid).

238. Know you not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you? (Ibid).

239. God is not remote from you, He is with you and in you. (Seneca).

240. You are yourselves He whom you seek. (Vivekananda).

241. Why should man go about seeking God? He is in thy heart-beats and thou knowest it not; thou wert in error in seeking Him outside thyself. (Ibid).

242. He who finds not the Eternal in himself, will never find it outside; but he who sees Him in the temple of his own soul, sees Him also in the temple of the universe. (Ramakrishna).

243. Where wouldst thou seek God? Seek Him in thy soul which is eternal in its nature and contains the divine birth. (Bohme).

244. Heaven is within thee. If thou seek God elsewhere, thou wilt never find Him. (Angelus Silesius).

245. God cannot be recognised except in oneself. So long as thou findest Him not in thee, thou wilt not find Him anywhere. There is no God for the man who does not feel Him in himself. (Tolstoi),

246. Thou shouldst not cry after God: the Source is in thyself. (Angelus Silesius).

247. While thou art saying "I am alone with myself," in thy heart there is dwelling uninterruptedly that supreme Spirit, silent observer of all good and evil. (Laws of Manu).

248. Thou seest Him, yet thou knowest not that thou seest. (Mohyddin-ibn Arabi).

249, Thou art not, but only He. (Ibid).

250. Thou art He ahd He is thou. (Ibid).

251. This supreme Brahman, the self of all, the great abode of the universe, more subtle than the subtle, eternal, That is thyself and thou art That. (Upanishad).

To be continued.

☞ With this number we issue the first of the "Open Letters to my Countrymen," (Our National Congress), published by Mr. N. K. Ramaswami Aiya.

THE

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(HERALD OF FEDERATION)

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A FEW OPINIONS.

Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy:—"I have been directed by His Excellency to acknowledge ...h thanks the receipt of your *Comparative Religion and Sociology*. H. E hopes to go through it as you desire."

Rev. W. H. Blake, Tanjore:—"Though you had to abandon your proposed lecture trip to England on ... of the war, I am glad you have published your Notes of Study on which your proposed lectures were ...o be based."

...on'ble Mr. Justice T. V. Seshagiri Iyer:—"You have done well in compiling together your Notes of ...ion and Sociology. The book will remove the prevalent misconceptions on the subject. The book ...culation."

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OURSELVES

As it is inconvenient to take extracts and issue the **Press of India** weekly, it is proposed to issue it every other week. The subscription has been reduced to one half. Our volumes will be half-yearly, at the end of which an index and title page will be supplied free to all our subscribers. Those that enlist themselves for one year by paying in advance will be given free a copy of "Comparative Religion and Sociology" advertised at the end. It will be observed that the policy of the "Press of India" is adopted from *the Arya, the Commonweal* and *the Hindu Review*. The *Comparative Religion and Sociology* forms the notes of study of the above journals besides the *Yogic Sadhan* of Mr. Aurobindo Ghose, the *Universal Text Book Religion* of Mrs. Annie Besant, "*Advanced Text Book of Hinduism*" of the the Sanatana Dharma series and the *Soul of India* of Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal.

The first number of the "Press of India" having been an advance number, we could not take extracts from the journals which begin only this year. So we gave therein extracts from the above three journals that form our policy and a retrospect of the year 1914 from the *Commonweal*. As regards the "Thoughts for the year" from the *Arya*, we thought it better to bring them up to date from August last. In future The "Thoughts," will not be too many.

We apprehended that the *Hindu Review* must have been discontinued and we find our apprehension to be true from the enquiries made of the Calcutta delegates of the Congres. We would, however, request Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal to complete the unpublished series of articles therein especially the "Letters on Hinduism" both with a view to discharge his duty to his annual subscribers and also to enable the reading public to have in a book form the very instructive series of articles that appeared from time to time in the *Review*. We would suggest that the supplementary volume of the *Soul of India* entitled the "People of India" might also be published as soon as possible. We cannot in sufficiently strong language commend to every true son of Hindustan the remarkable book the *Soul of India* which deals with (1) Federalism, the keynote of Hindu Culture; (2) Hindu Federal Politics; (3) Hindu Federal Sociology and (4) Hindu Federal Religion. The *People of India* is the practical application of the *Soul of India* and as such would be welcomed by every reader of the *Soul of India*. We are happy we have fulfilled a sacred duty in having condensed all that was best in the *Soul of India* and the *Hindu Riview*, which journal we never thought then, would have died such a premature and undeserved death.

Every issue of the **Press of India** will contain selections from journals received till a week before its publication.

GENERAL.

A HAPPY NEW YEAR.

We wish all our readers not only a happy but a useful New Year. Men count happiness in varied ways; but from the point of view of National Progress and the Service of Humanity, lives of labour for the welfare of our fellowmen are most to be desired, and every effort to lift even a little of the heavy karma of the world, every endeavour to enrich human existence, physically, morally, or mentally, should be accounted righteous, and righteousness begets the highest happiness. Therefore in wishing a Happy New Year to you, good reader, we expect from you not only a passive approval of our work, however small, but an active co-operation in it for the benefit of the Motherland. A New India is emerging before the civilized world, and as parts of that great Vision, as atoms in that great Body, you can make or mar its superb harmony, its perfect beauty. To worship the Mother by serving her children should be the common desire of us all; for service rooted in sacrifice is a divine attribute which begets Happiness, Bliss, *Ananda*. We pray that that spiritual joy may come to abide in the hearts of all. Living in a universe of law, where causes bring adequate and just results, where every seed bears its flower, "sesamum for sesamum, corn for corn," we are sure to reap as we have sown. Therefore sow sacrifice and reap happiness, and the field of service will rhow a plentiful crop, and Mother India will sing her song of praise to her great Lord for inspiring her sons and daughters, with noble aims in life.

New India.

THE SITUATION—A SPIRITUAL MESSAGE.

(MR. AUROBINDO GHOSE IN AN INTERVIEW WITH A PRESS REPRESENTATIVE.)

"I have been so much detached for the last four years from all the present activities of political life that I have little to say upon current questions. I have no objection, however, to give some general ideas and impressions."

"I do not find the proceedings of the Christmas Conferences very interesting and inspiring. They seem to me to be mere repetitions of the petty and lifeless formulas of the past and hardly to show any sense of the great breath of the future that is blowing upon us. I make an exception of the speech of the Congress President which struck me as far above the ordinary level. Some people, apparently, found it visionary and unpractical. It seems to me to be the one practical and vital thing that has been said in India for sometime past."

"The old, petty forms and little narrow, make-believe activities are getting out of date. The world is changing, rapidly around us and preparing for more colossal changes in the future. We must rise to the greatness of thought and action which it will demand from the nations who hope to live. No, it is not in any of the old formal activities but deeper down that I find signs of progress and hope. The last few years have been a period of silence and compres-

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sion, in which the awakened *Virya* and *Tejas* of the nation have been concentrating for a greater outburst of a better directed energy in the future."

"We are a nation of three hundred millions inhabiting a great country in which many civilisations have met, full of rich material and unused capacities. We must cease to think and act like the inhabitants of an obscure and petty village."

"Only by a general intellectual and spiritual awakening can this nation fulfil its destiny. Our limited information, our second-hand intellectual activities, our bounded interests, our narrow life of little family aims and small money-getting have prevented us from entering into the broad life of the world. Fortunately, there are increasing signs of a widened outlook, a richer intellectual output and numerous sparks of liberated genius which show that the necessary change is coming. No nation in modern times can grow great by politics alone. A rich and varied life, energetic in all its parts is the condition of a sound vigorous national existence. From this point of view also the last five years have been a great benefit to the country."

"The realisation of our nationhood separate from the rest of humanity was the governing idea of our activities from 1905 to 1910. That movement has served its purpose. It has laid a good foundation for the future. Whatever excesses and errors of speech and action were then disclosed came, because our energy, though admirably inspired, lacked practical experiencs and knowledge.

"The idea of Indian nationhood is now not only rooted in the public mind, as all recent utterances go to show, but accepted in Europe and acknowledged by the Government and the governing race. The new idea that should now lead us is the realisation of our nationhood not separate from, but in, the future scheme of humanity. When it has realised its own national life and unity, India will have still a part to play in helping to bring about the unity of of the nations.

"It is well indeed, that British Statesmen should be thinking of India's proper place in the Councils of the Empire, and it is obviously a thought which, if put into effect, must automatically alter the attitude of even the greatest extremists towards the Government and change for the better all existing political relations."

"But it is equally necessary that we Indians, should begin to think seriously what part Indian thought, Indian intellect, Indian nationhood, Indian spirituality, Indian culture have to fulfil in the general life of Humanity. That humanity is bound to grow increasingly one. We must necessarily be in it and of it. Not a spirit of aloofness or of jealous self-defence, but of generous emulation and brotherhood with all men and all nations, justified by a sense of conscious strength, a great destiny, a large place in the human future —this should be the Indian spirit."

"I am convinced and have long been convinced that a spiritual awakening, a re-awakening to the true self of the nation is the most important condition of our national greatness. The supreme Indian idea of the oneness of all men in God and its realisation inwardly and outwardly, increasingly even in social relations and the structure of Society is destined, I believe, to govern the progress of the

human race, India, if it chooses, can guide the world.

"Our social fabric will have to be considerably altered before long. We shall have, of course, to enlarge our family and social life, not in the petty spirit of present day Social Reform, hammering at small details and belittling our immediate past but with a larger idea and more generous impulse. Our past with all its faults and defects should be sacred to us. But the claims of our future with its immense possibilities should be still more sacred."

"It is more important, that the thought of India should come out of the philosophical school and renew its contact with life and the spiritual life of India issue out of the cave and the temple and adopting itself to new forms, lay its hands upon the world. I believe also that humanity is about to enlarge its scope by new knowledge, new powers and capacities which will create as great a revolution in human life as the physical science of the nineteenth century. Here, too, India holds in her past, a little rusted and put out of use, the key of humanity's future.

It is in these directions that I have been for some time impelled to turn my energies rather than to the petty political activities which are alone open to us at the present moment. This is the reason of my continued retirement and detachment from action. I believe in the necessity at such times and for such great objects of *tapasya* in silence for self-training, for self-knowledge and storage of spiritual force. Our forefathers used that means, though in different forms. And it is the best means for becoming an efficient worker in the great days of the world."

POLITICAL.

UNITED INDIA.

The tendency in the Indian National Congress seems to be—among those who desire to lock the door and keep others out—to make the controversy rage round one particular man. But there are hundreds, probably thousands, who desire to come into the Congress, who do not belong to any one class of opinions as a whole, but who are held by a tradition to the old way of electing delegates at public meetings. They feel strongly that they have been deprived of a "right," and whether or not the right be a precious one, they yet cling to it as a matter of sentiment. It has been taken from us; let it be re-given—they say.

Let us consider what Democracy means in such a matter. Surely Democracy stands for freedom of opinion and of discussion, for the hearing of various schools of thought, for guarding the freedom of a minority, and for coming to a decision only when dissentient voices have been heard. The attempt to go behind a man's word and to scrutinise the forum of his conscience is one that, in the interests of self-respect, should be avoided, for it would give rise to most undesirable consequences, and is contrary to the very principles of liberty. "Do notwith hold a right from a man because you think he will abuse it; when he hath

abused it—judge." When a man presents himself to ask for the suffrages of his fellows, then they—and they alone—have a right to question him on his opinions. He must be judged by his writings and his speeches, not by private questioning.

The shutting out of undesirables, such as anarchists, from the Congress, should not be done by narrowing the electorate, but laying down the conditions which qualify a candidate for election. There might well be a rule denying the eligibility of a man convicted of crimes which imply moral turpitude. This rule has given no trouble in its application in Municipal elections. Moreover, there should be a verification of the credentials of delegates by a small Committee appointed for the purpose, as the Subjects Committee is now appointed. These rules would exclude men convicted, say of dacoity, if any one were stupid enough to elect them.

Varities of thought are of vital importance in all assemblies concerned with political work. Without these, fruitful discussion is impossible, and a dead level of mediocrity exists. New and fresh thought is invaluable, though it may often be troublesome. Moreover, it is very easy to blunder, when we try to make opinion the test of admission. Is his adoption of passive resistance as a weapon against oppression a sufficient reason to shut out Mr. Gandhi from being elected to Congress? Are the sentences inflicted on him for his contumacy sufficient to render him ineligible as a delegate?

The New India.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

One of the greatest difficulties we have in India is the want of understanding, and consequently of co-operation, between the diffirent schools of political views. A want of clarity of thought leads to a want of accuracy in expression: one word is used to describe different things and even opposed policies; hence misunderstandings arise, and these are aggravated by the inevitable pressure of a Government carried on chiefly by non-Indians—a pressure deliberately used in some Provinces occasionally, and in some constantly—a pressure which is always present in the minds of the governed, if not in those of the governors. Hence, if a word has ever been used by anarchists, or by Indians who wish for entire separation from the British Empire, that word assumes a lurid significance, and becomes as the proverbial red rag to the proverbial bull. Without waiting to ascertain whether the red rag is a flag on the dart of a toreador or a harmless and even decorative shawl, the bull closes his eyes, lowers his head, and charges. Such words as passive resistance, boycott, obstruction, need be sharply defined, at least by anyone who uses them; otherwise, an anarchist, having used the word "boycott" as against the Government, indicating thereby a propaganda in which entire abstinence from all participation in anything with which the Government is connected is to be exercised, a Nationalist, using the word to indicate abstinence from foreign made goods, is at once suspected of anarchism. Let us then examine "suspect words," and see their possible connotations.

Passive Resistance. This is a political method of opposing a wrong, or gaining a right, in which all violence is definitely

abjured, and the passive resister suffers anything that the Government of the place and time may choose to inflict upon him; his motto is: "Resist not evil; endure to the end." In South Africa, Mr. Gandhi adopted passive resistance; the grievances suffered were cruel, the number of the sufferers large, the area of combat small. Everyone, from the Viceroy downwards, applauds his passive resistance, and that of the Indians associated with him; he is applauded as a hero, canonised as a saint. The area of combat was remote enough to cause no uneasiness in Great Britain, or even in India, save by its reaction here; passive resistance triumphed to some extent, and many of the grievances were removed. But suppose this same passive resistance were adopted here in order to exercise pressure to remove a grievance, we know very well that it would be at once labelled sedition, and that any concerted action, like that of Mr. Gandhi and his fellow resisters, would be forcibly broken up and the leaders deported, if there were not evidence enough to convict and imprison.

Is passive resistance right or wrong? Clearly the Viceroy and the vast majority of English and Indians think that it is right—*in some cases*. To put it rather brutally, the majority think that it is a justifiable method of political agitation where the surrounding circumstances hold out a promise of success, and where it is strictly confined to the infliction of suffer ing on himself by the passive resister, who endures the suffering by his own choice. It then raises pity, and finally love. There are a few people in India who, while the Press Act, the Arms Act, the power of deportation, and a few other objectionable laws remain on the Statute Book, will not stand for election to Municipalities, Boards, Councils, etc. Some of these are people of the highest ideals, of purest love of country, of gentle life, who would never inflict suffering on anyone save on themselves. If the grievances of these laws were heavily felt by the vast majority of educated Indians then such an abstention by all would make a great and effective protest. But the majority, knowing there is not a sufficiently widespread earnestness to make success, very sensibly prefer to use the powers they have on the Legislative Councils to improve Indian conditions; if a large number of good men stood apart, there would be crowds of inferior men ready to scramble for the places they leave empty. The country loses the services of these good men, and the policy does not lead to any useful result. It is futile, not wrong; abstention due to sloth is wrong; abstention due to adherence to the ideal of passive resistance cannot be wrong, but we venture to submit, with all deference, that it does not help the country. There is nothing unconstitutional in the method, and such pure minded and patriotic men should certainly have a place in the Congress. Their unselfishness, their patriotism, their high ideals make them inspiring influences, even though they abstain from the hard practical work. It is one of the tragedies of India that they feel they must abstain.

The conditions of successful passive resistance are: a clearly defined grievance, deeply felt by the great majority of the people; a public, whose sympathy can be obtained; a small area, in which practically, all the people concerned exercise such resistance. Vague discontent, general dissatisfaction—these are not suitable for passive resistance. Moreover, there

must be a reasonable hope of success within a comparatively brief time. In India, none of the conditions are present: Indian conditions resemble those against which the Suffragists contend in England—a mass of inert indifference, which cannot be roused into sympathy, which does not care. Therefore, while respecting the handful of patriots who adopt this policy, and hoping that they will join the Congress, we say quite definitely, that passive resistance cannot be wisely or usefully employed in working for Self-Government.

* * * * * *

New India.

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THE BOYCOTT.

Among "suspect words" the Boycott ranks high, for among such words it is peculiarly indefinite, and therefore peculiarly liable to misunderstanding and misinterpretation. Originally, during the period of veiled revolution in Ireland, it was a form of social ostracism, whereby a man who paid his rent, when his district had taken up the No Rent campaign, was made a social leper. No man might speak to him, nor trade with him, nor associate with him, nor give him food, or drink, or medical aid. This terrible weapon was first used against a gentleman named Captain Boycott, and his name has thus been immortalised.

During the struggle over the ill-advised Partition of Bengal, the party opposed to that Partition caught up this weapon, and turned it, not against an individual, but against British goods. To the advocacy of Swadeshi, the use of goods produced in India, the advocacy of the Boycott, the refusal to use British goods, was added. Swadeshi itself was a most useful movement, and was but the Indian replica of the British cry: "Use British made goods." It was a patriotic and necessary measure for the helping of Indian idusntries, and should be continually preached and practised.

The Boycott against British goods was intended as a political weapon, in order to draw the attention of Great Britain to the deep resentment aroused by the Partition of Bengal, and to draw it in the very effective way of an appeal to the pockets of the middle and trading classes. It was Chosen as a method of combat without bloodshed, a weapon of war, but one that struck at the pocket, not at the life. And it was so chosen as a last desperate effort to wake up the English people to the wrong which was being wrought in their name, to force them to understand that they were being led along a path dangerous to the peace of the Empire. This was a legitimate and peaceful protest, and when this had been done, it was dropped.

Not seldom, we hear the phrase used of "Boycotting the Government"—a new and foolish phrase, denoting either an impossibility or an unwisdom. If only an unwisdom, the word should not be used, for then it is only a synonym for abstention from occupying any Government office, from entering a Board, Municipality, or Council—a policy which any person has obviously a perfect right to follow if he pleases, and which penalises no one save himself. He does not boycott the Government; he boycotts himself, if the word is to be used at

all. If it is intended to mean a general determination to ignore the Government, to live as though it did not exist, to refuse to recognise its authority, to pay no taxes, to remain apart from everything in which Government is concerned, and to hamper it where possible, then it is an impossibility and it is mere silliness—and mischievous silliness—to talk about it. It then becomes a revolutionary method, and any who use it have no moral right to blame the Government for treating it as a revolutionary attempt. Revolutions are sometimes justifiable; that is admitted by every Liberal; we all applaud Garibaldi. But playing at Revolution is a crime. Petty obstructions which, if successful, can only annoy and irritate, are childish, and deserve the sternest reprobation. To rant about Revolution, where the ranter is careful of his own person, is contemptible. When men plan a Revolution, they do not talk about it, or bluster about it; they are silent, till they strike.

Now in India, the Nation does not want any Revolution; it wants Freedom won by constitutional means, by co-operation with Great Britain and not by antagonism to Her. It is from Great Britain that the desire for representative institutions has been learned, and it is with Great Britain's help that those institutions can be successfully established, and put into running order.—*New India.*

OBSTRUCTION.

"Obstruction," as a policy, has been made famous by the early Irish Party in the House of Commons, and there is no doubt that, by its unrestricted use, they so hampered the course of public business, as to make themselves, while they practised it, an extreme annoyance and nuisance to the House. If that be the highest aim of political action, they achieved it. It was the weapon of a minority against a majority, and used—as it had occasionally been used by Radicals in the past, when on some rare and important issue they employed every form of the House to impede the granting of Supplies until the grievance complained of was redressed—it was a very valuable weapon. The use made of it by the Irish Party to obstruct everything, broke it as a weapon in Parliamentary warfare. A majority will not permit all business to be stopped perennially by a minority, and where the minority proves itself to be entirely unreasonable, the majority always devises some method by which it can carry out its will. The Parliamentary majority devised the closure, and checkmated Obstruction. But the Radical wing of the majority voted for the closure with grief and shame, and many will remember the bitterness with which Charles Bradlaugh lamented that the then Irish Party had broken into pieces one of the most valuable of Radical weapons against the Government. He was in favour of the closure, because the business of the nation had to be carried on, but he was angry because the Irish Party had made the closure necessary. When a minority is unreasonable, a majority becomes tyrannical.

The Irish Parliamentary Party saw its mistake, and adopted a more sensible policy. It refused to ally itself with either great political Party, and, working in

England for the balance of these in Parliament, it stood between them as an independent Party, voting with either on any important division, and thus making itself the deciding factor, and bargaining for its support. In this way, Obstruction having been crushed, and free speech taken away from all parties, to the sore injury of all minorities, victory was gained by skilful tactics. Wherever a minority is concerned, which embodies a serious political aim, then the later tactics of the Irish Party, and not its early policy of Obstruction should be selected. We ought to have an Indian Party in the House of Commons, pledged to Home Rule for India. It should not ally itself with either great Parliamentary Party, but should stand aloof from both, and in critical divisions, when the fate of the Government trembles in the balance, it should always vote against it, until some Government, or Opposition, pledges itself to bring in a Bill for Indian Home Rule. Then, and then only, should it ally itself with that Party, and work with it for general purposes.

The Congress is a body of delegates representing people who all claim for India one thing, Self-Government within the Empire, to be gained by one method, the constitutional means. Every delegate is pledged to these two things, and in order to forward them, to work to uplift his country industrially, morally, and educationally. Being thus pledged, he obviously cannot obstruct the proceedings of Congress in order to forward contrary aims, such as autocracy, bureaucracy, or any fundamental change, save that of the transfer of the Government to the native, or naturalised, residents of India. In a body moving towards a single aim by a single road, there seems to be no place for the policy of Obstruction.

But if it be held that Obstruction may fairly be used, it is then cogent to enquire: Against whom? There is no Government within the Congress, and the autocratic Government outside cannot be obstructed in the Congress. If some great injustice is done, then the whole Congress is at one in protesting against it, and a difference of opinion as to the best method of protest would be argued out in debate, the conclusion would be arrived at by an ordinary majority vote, and there would be no one to obstruct. If the minority was convinced that their decision was wrong, there would be only one way of reversing it—by convincing a sufficient number of the majority to turn that majority into a minority Can it be argued that, under such conditions, that minority should set itself to obstruct all other business? Then it puts forward the preposterous claim that a minority should coerce a majority, and ranges itself on the side of autocracy against democracy. That is an intelligible proposition, but a Congress, where votes decide resolutions, is not the place for it, nor is the majority a proper object against which to level Obstruction. The only result of it, carried far, must be that which we have seen in the House of Commons, the silencing of every body by the closure, the abolition of free speech. In a democratic assembly, such as the Congress, there is no group, or body, possessing powers, who are to be obstructed The only possible object against whom Obstruction can be levelled is the majority —*Quod est absurdum.*

Against what is it to be directed? The will of the majority? And then? No business at all can be done. As there is no Government in the Congress, so is there no Opposition. The Congress, as a whole, is

His Majesty's Opposition. It takes what it can get, when the Government gives anything it wants, and then co-operates with the Government; it makes demands which are refused,it criticises,it objects, and now that there are the reformed Legislative Councils, such of its members as sit there endeavour to carry out its wishes. So long as the Congress wants one thing, Obstruction has no place. If there are two parties in it, argument, not Obstruction, is the only weapon; for it is the reason which must be convinced as to the better way. Physical force attempts by a minority to coerce a majority by obstructing all business must end in coercion by the majority, and the lamentable forfeiture of free speech which resulted in the House of Commons.

New India.

IS THE NATIONAL CONGRESS A PARLIAMENT OR A POLITICAL LEAGUE?

We very much wish that we could answer this question with the words: "It is a National Parliament." But while we have dreamed of it as such a Parliament, we are compelled to say that it is not such a body, nor indeed can it wisely be made one, while India remains in its present fettered condition. It is the voice of the English-educated class, as we have often called it; it is "India articulate"; it is the only organised body which incarnates the national consciousness, and has a right to speak in the name of those who are realising Nationhood, are building Nationhood, are aspiring to become a people, a self-governing unit in the "Federated Empire of the Free."

Speaking loosely, we have applied to it the name, "National Parliament," for it is the nearest approach in India to such a body; strictly speaking, of course, an unlimited number of delegates, chosen haphazard, and many of them by the undetermined elements of a public meeting, cannot make anything approaching a Parliament, save in a poetic flight.

This fact came out very strongly in the Poona talks, when we discussed the various bodies which might be invited to elect delegates to the Congress—Landholders' Associations, Chambers of Commerce, Industria Organisations, Co-operative Societies. All these are obviously elements, and valuable elements, in the life of the Nation. But, it was argued: "You cannot ask such bodies to accept Article I, for they are not political bodies, and work neither for nor against Self-Government." In Bengal, the Landholders' Association had been invited to elect delegates, and had elected some. In discussions in Madras, it was pointed out that the admission of non-political bodies as electorates might very seriously hamper the political work of the Congress, and, at a critical moment, might turn it to re-actionary purposes. Let us suppose that a serious crisis arose in the agitation for Self-Government, or for any far-reaching reform; let us suppose that a rally was made by Landholders' Associations, Chambers of Commerce, for which Governments appoint representatives in Legislative Councils, on whom it depends in those Councils to outvote the elected members; let us suppose that the *mot d'ordre* was sent round to all the enterprising people who want concessions, and the ambitious people who want titles and medals, and the social aspirants who want invitations to big houses, and the Zemindars, the majority of

whom are much under Government influence, and that all these rallied to the support of the Government and the Bureaucracy, presure being put on locally—would it be unlikely that the Congress should be captured, and prove false to its present ideal? Here is the value of Article I. It is not the "Extremists" who are dangerous, but the Reactionaries. The Congress organisation aims at Self-Government, and it cannot afford to admit the forces which would work against the realisation of that aim. In a Parliament, every national interest ought to be represented; there is a Government and an Opposition, both belonging to the Nation, and according to the will of the Nation, at the time, Liberal or Conservative measures are brought in, argued over, carried, thrown out. But in the Congress, we have a body of men pledged to bring about Self-Government, and therefore necessarily representing only one party, the People's Party, the National Party. It has to struggle against ignorance, inertia, the dead weight of vested interests, the influence of the powerful Civil Service of Englishmen, who dominate the country. It does not represent these; they represent themselves only; it will only here after meet as representatives, on equal terms, such of them as are elected to the National and Provincial Parliaments, and then will agree or disagree with them as the case may be. When Self-Rule is won, then shall all interests be represented; but so long as there is a perpetual Government, not responsible to any Parliament of the Nation and irremovable by the Nation, so long must Congress be a perpetual Opposition, not hostile, not carping, not refusing to co-operate with that Government when it goes the way of the Congress, but criticising its measures, pointing out injustices, and opposing it whenever it acts against the happiness, the liberty and the will of the Self-conscious Nationhood of India. Hence Congress is not, and cannot be, a Parliament. At its peril it relaxes its first Article, which points to Self-Government as its goal. It is educated and progressive India constituted into a Political League, open to all who accept its aim and its means. Until that aim is achieved, it must remain an active propagandist, fighting Body, fighting under the banner of Liberty, constituting the Army of Progress, embodying the highest hopes of the Nation, loyal to the Crown, and loyal to the Motherland.

The New India.

THE DYING CONVENTIONIST CONGRESS.

"New India," talking of the Madras Session of the Conventionist Congress, observes: "Great has been the success of the Madras Congress." On the other hand the real fact is that it was as big a failure as—or rather a bigger one than—its predecessors. Here are a few figures, taken from the previous and the present Congress reports, to show how this organization is dying a slow death year after year. As the reader is aware, the Conventionist Congress was inaugurated in 1908 after the Surat imbroglio. Let us see the number of delegates who attended the old Congress during the proceding four years:—

Year.	Delegates.	Congress.
1904	1010	Bombay.
1905	1909	Benares.
1906	1663	Calcutta.
1907	1300	Surat.
Total	5882	

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THE CONVENTIONIST CONGRESS AFTER SURAT.

Year.	Delegates.	Congress.
1908	626	Madras.
1909	222	Lahore.
1910	636	Allahabad.
1911	446	Calcutta.
1912	211	Bankipur.
1913	550	Karachi.
1914	848	Madras.
Total	3539	

That is to say, the number of delegates to the former United Congress for *fou* years was almost double the number of those who have attended the present sectional Congress during the last seven years! Does it not show that the organisation of the Conventionists is more dead than alive?

The position will be realised more fully when some other facts are brought to the front. The organization is dubbed "Indian National Congress." But its meetings are attended mostly by local men and by very few from other provinces. Here are some facts to illustrate this point. Out of 626 delegates in 1908 at Madras, 222 in 1909 at Lahore, 636 in 1910 at Allahabad, 446 in 1911 at Calcutta, 211 in 1912 at Bankipur, 550 in 1913 at Karachi, and 848 in 1914 at Madras, only 222, 167, 423, 298, 150, 85 and 110 respectively came from other provinces.

That is to say, though 848 delegates attended the last Madras Congress, 738 of them came from Madras alone, 573 of whom, again, were contributed by the Madras city itself. It is also a well-known fact that the vast majority of them joined the last Congress under the impression that it would be a United one. Surely this is a big failure and not a "great success."

This point was made plain to almost every delegate and visitor to the last Madras Congress. Fancy out of 848 who attended it only 110 came from outside, namely, 37 from Bengal, 7 from Berars, 5 from Behar, 54 from Bombay, 10 from the United Provinces and 2 from Burma. And many of them were mere sight-seers or sons and sons-in-law or obliging friends of some prominent Conventionists who care as much for the public affairs of the country as the man in the moon. And these assembled at Madras to represent the whole nation and speak in its name!

Here are then a few other significant facts. The Punjab has seceded from the Conventionist Congress—not a single delegate came from there. Is this not a grave matter? The United Provinces delegates also threatened to secede unless a resolution condemning the special Municipal and Distribt Board electorate for the Mahomedans in their province was passed. The Congress leaders were compelled to do it in order to humour them though they frankly expressed their fear that they might thereby offend the Mussalmans. As for the Mussalmans, well, they seem to have left the organization in a body; for there were at the most half-a-dozen Mussalmans present at the Congress, either as delegates or visitors, all being local men. If we are correctly informed, no delegates also came from the Central Provinces, Mr. Mudholkar and his few friends representing both Berars and the C. P.

Thus, at least two Indian Provinces were wholly unrepresented and the Mussalman element nowhere at the last Madras Congress, an event unprecedented in the annals of the Congress. Then again no other Conventionist Congress, except the Karachi.

was attended by so few delegates from other Provinces than the one held the other day at Madras. The Madras Congress was thus a failure and not success, even from the Conventionist's point of view.

And then how were these so-called delegates elected? Whom did they represent? The public had certainly nothing to do with them. No public meetings were held for their election. The right of electing delegates is vested in provincial, district or other Congress Committees. They don't call upon the public to elect delegates, but select their own men as such. The so-called Congress Committees were created not by the general public but by a few Conventionist leaders who style themselves the representatives of the Nation. These are called Provincial or District or other Congress Committees. Under the constitution of the Conventionist Congress "every member of the Provincial Congress Committee shall pay an annual subscription of not less than Rs. 5"; but very few, if any, pay this sum. Then again, "no District Congress Committee shall be entitled to return delegates to the Congress unless it contributes to the Provincial Congress Committee" a fixed annual subscription. But there was perhaps not one which contributed this money, and, therefore, the election of all the delegates returned by them was unconstitutional and illegal!

Nor is that all. The District Congress Committees have either disappeared or exist in name. They do not work for the good of the people; they come into existence only once in the year to elect delegates to the Congress. Even then they do not hold any meeting, but one of their so-called secretaries or members publishes in the press the names of a few persons of the localities as delegates. In Madras, many districts have not got even these beautiful district organizations; and the vast majority of the 738 Madrasee delegates who attended the last Congress were elected either by the Mahajan Sabha or the Congress Reception Committee of the Madras City. Is not this nice?

The Conventionist Congress is thus a farce and a delusion. It has no regardl even for its own constitution. It is the private property of a few men, and hence it commands no confidence from the nation, and the general public show no interest in it. It is now regarded as a white elephant, which costs at least a lakh of rupees annually, and does nothing but make some speeches and pass a few stereotyped resolutions. Such is the universal apathy for this few men's show that no province is willing to take its burden upon its shoulder. It was not Bombay's turn to take charge of the Congress this year, but, as the Central Provinces, the Berars, the Punjab, the United Provinces refused to do it, Sir Pherozsha Mehta had no option but to invite it to his own city to save his face.

As we have said again, and again unless there be a UnitedCongress the Conventionist organization is doomed to die in due course. In preventing this unity, the Conventionist leaders have, therefore, committed suicide and sounded the death-kneel of the Convention.

—*Patrika*

THE CONGRESS SPLIT.

It was expected that the question of closing the breach of the Congress would receive due consideration and be solved in a liberal spirit in the moderate atmosphere of Madras. But we are sorry to say that the decision arrived at by the Subjects Committee in Madras has only served to emphasise the sectional character of the Congress and its inability to solve questions of general interest in a non-sectarian spirit. The amendment proposed by Mrs. Besant to Art. XX of the Constitution with a view to widening the doors of election to both the wings of the late Congress was no doubt very enthusiastically discussed. We might even say discussed with a considerable amount of feeling, but the eventual position of the parties after the result is much the same as before. The Conventionist Congress at Madras this year was very sparsely attended by delegates from six out of nine provinces, into which the Congress electorate is divided. Punjab is stated to be not represented at all and the numbers from C. P. Burma, Behar, Berars, and U. P., were less than the number of votes allowed for each province in the Constitution of the Congress. Only three provinces namely, Bengal, Madras and Bombay were adequately represented and we are told, two of them namely, Bengal and Madras were for the amendment. But according to the Congress Constitution two-thirds of the provinces must vote for a proposition before it is passed, when it relates to an amendment in the constitution. The opponents of the amendment therefore found a plausible excuse for blocking the way by pointing to the defective number of delegates from the other provinces and suggesting the appointment of a Committee from all provinces to report on the matter to the All-India Congress Committee and eventually to the next Congress. But few persons seem to have given a thought to the question, *viz.* who is going to nominate the members of the Committee, and whether the nominated members will care to join it and meet to decide after nomination. At any rate, no information is available on these points and we shall not be erring on the wrong side if we assume that nothing definite has been setlted so far as these points are concerned. The Conventionist Congress during the last few years has been very sparsely attended by delegates from provinces other than the one where the Congress is held. This year was no exception to the rule. And there is no reason to believe that the next year's Bombay Conventionist Congress will be very different from what it was this year. We fail therefore to perceive how the question of reconciliation can ever be settled by the Conventionist Congress as it is. Looked at from the non-Conventionist side there is a gain so far that a Conventionist Committee has been appointed so that it can no longer be urged that the matter has never been placed before the Conventionists for their consideration. The question is now before them and if they refuse to widen the gates or tarry to do so they cannot object to being charged with bringing down the Congress from a national to a sectional platform, or in the words of Mrs. Besant from a Parliament of the nation to a conventionist club. The club as Mrs. Besant says, has the right to *call* itself national and we too may allow any association to call itself national. Even a dramatic company may do so and we shall not be surprised if any such company if found to exist. The question is not what you call your-self but what you are and from

the latter point of view, the non-Conventionists and public also, if not Government, will be perfectcy justified in regarding the voice of the Congress as a voice of a section of the educated classes which the Government may find it convenient to rely upon in order to refuse higher demands. Such a state of things is not desirable in the interests of the nation especially when some consideration is likely to be shown to Indian demands on the close of the war. It is a pity, therefore, that the amendment proposed by Mrs. Besant was shoved off at Madras. To us it indicates the insular influence which the Conventionists are not able to counteract and which is dead opposed to the admission of Nationalists as a party in the existing Conventionist Club. The "New India" thinks that the appointment of a Committee is a gain so far from the union point of view. But with due deference to our contemporary we must say that we feel otherwise. Taking shelter behind a Committee or a Board as Babu Bhupendranath would say, is one of the hackneyed tactics of Government when a question likely to be inconvenient to them arises, and the Conventionists have adopted it in the same autocratic spirit. The non-Conventionist party must understand that they are not wanted by some of the leaders of Conventfonists whose voice now governs the Conventionist Club and as this Club meets next year at Bombay, there is little chance of any progress being made in this behalf.

—*Mahratta.*

SOCIAL.

THE CREED OF REFORM IN RELATION TO IMPERIAL UNITY.

At the present moment the spirit of Imperial Unity is in the air. The place India has won in the heart of the Empire is the wonder of the world. It is worth investigating the causes of this striking phenomenon. When one looks back on the days of the Mutiny and realises the part the story about greased cartridges played then, he will at once see that to-day no such story will make any impression. Why? Because of the great forces which have been at work between then and now in British India. It is not too much to say that the cult of Social Reform deserves to be looked upon as one of the most potent and powerful of all the forces at work. That this is no exaggeration or special pleading will be obvious to those who see the vital points in the creed of the Reformer. We get at these when we go to the lives of the leaders of Reform thought in India and compare them with the vital points in the every-day customary creed of the millions of our fellow-men.

There is no denying that somehow or other the exclusiveness of the caste spirit had crystallised into a creed of dislike to the foreigner, and had become a prejudice hard to root out. It is remarkable that almost every one of the great leaders of Reform perceived the injustice of this prejudice and battled against it. Is it a wonder then that this mighty spirit of Reform, working for over half a century amidst us, should have turned the mind of the country to tolerance from hatred towards the foreigner, and from tolerance to appreciation born of closer touch

and more intimate knowledge? From this great fountain has been flowing over the country many a stream, many a rivulet, all these years, and the mind of the country has been eagerly working in the wake of that spirit to find out honestly and frankly the merits of the rulers and the ruled. The result is a marvellous awakening to, and a silent admiration of, the great and good qualities which Great Britain has on the whole brought to bear upon India. But it has till recently been unexpressed, unowned.

The next great point in the cult of the Reformer is the emancipation of women. The leaders of Reform though felt the injustice to women even more keenly than the injustice involved in our every-day practices, in the name of caste, to our fellow men. They fought for the freedom of women no less than for the freedom of men. The spirit of protest against caste, working side by side with the spirit of protest against the subjection of women to a life of hardship, misery and ignorance, has proved another mighty lever in the elevation of India. This has brought about closer touch between the women of the East and the women of the West. The march of ideas in the minds of our women is not taken note of as much as it deserves to be. They feel and think a great deal more than they did hitherto and they have come to realise how much the rule of Great Britain has come to be synonymous with the emancipation of Indian women. This again is a great change silently wrought but yet unexpressed.

The third vital pount in our cult is the liberation of the Depressed Classes The tripod of the Reformer's creed may therefore be said to be: (1) Wiping out the prejudice of caste; (2) Elevating the status of women; and (3) Elevating the depressed classes. Given long enough time, and good enough workers in the field of reform with this creed, we see at once what a mighty moral and religious force this means.

Thus has the mind and heart of the country been prepared by the great forces set to work during over half a century of British Rule. After all it is quite true that the forces which are the most mighty in the world are those that work unseen. What appears on the surface, of life is misleading and the world is constantly misled by what appears on the surface: but it is reserved for a moment of the greatest crisis in the world to see how the real and abiding forces have been working all along.

When the War broke out and when nobody knew how India was going to feel and how she was going to speak and act, this mighty spirit of uity and strenght and devotion to England felt that it was no longer right to keep the mask on, and she spoke for India in a manner that has resounded throughout the world and that has made Germany stand aghast.

—*The Social Reform Advocate.*

HINDU SOCIAL REFORM.

'Indian National' though the epithet is which describes the scope of the Socil Conference it is both convenient and correct that we should frankly consider the subjects discussed thereat as problems of Hindu social reform. While in matters political and economic there is a more or less identity of conditions among Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis and Indian Christians, social conditions dependent partly on religious beliefs and practices and reflecting communal institutions, customs and usages are distinctively Hindu, Mahomedan, Parsi and Christian much more than common, non-communal Indian It is not denied that there are some questions that answer the latter description, but honestly they are those which are non-controversial, not those for the consideration of which the Social Conference was established. It is suggestive in this connection to note that as a rule social reform associations are labelled expressly as Hindu. The only resolutions that were ever entrusted to non-Hindus to speak to related to temperance, social intercourse between Indians and Europeans, and relations between Hindus and Mahomedans. Why then was the Conference labelled as it was? We can only assume that even hard-headed thinkers and conservative Hindus were too much under the idealistic wave to face actual realities or calculate reasonable probabilities. Social reform is not a problem on all fours with political agitation in a land inhabited by persons of diverse religious beliefs and social codes each community has to solve its own social problems in its own way. Hindus will not allow the intervention of Mahomedans and *vice versa*, nor can such intervention be of practical use. We can understand a Hindu Social Conference and a Mahomedan Social Conference, but not the 'Indian National' Social Conference. Mr. Hume in 1884, conceived the idea that it would be of great advantage to the 'country if leading Indian poiticians could 'be brought together once a year to discuss '*social matters*' and 'he did not desire that 'politics should form part of their discussion.' But the discussion of questions of social reform at a Congress composed of men of diverse faiths was held to be impracticable, and rightly. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said in his presidential address to the Calcutta Congress in 1886:

'How can this gathering of *all* classes discuss the social reforms needed in each individual class? What do any of us know of the internal home life, of the customs, traditions, feelings, prejudices of any class but our own? How could a gathering, a cosmopolitan gathering like this, discuss to any purpose the reforms needed in any one class? Only the members of that class can effectively deal with the reforms therein needed. A National Congress must confine itself to questions in which the entire nation has a direct participation, and it must leave the adjustment of social reforms and other class questions to class congresses. . . The Mahomedans know what is being done by persons of their community. . . ; the Hindus are everywhere doing what they *can* to reform those social institutions which they think require improvement. . . . these are essentially matters too delicate for a stranger's handling—matters which must be left to the guidance of those who alone fully understand them in all their bearings, and which are wholly unsuited to discussion in an assemblage like this in which all classes are intermingled."

Mr. Justice Tyabji who succeeded Mr. Dadabhai in the Congress presidential chair in the following year at Madras:—said. . . any questions of social reform must of neicessity affect some particular part or some particular community of India only. . . . although we Musalmans have our own social problems to solve, just as our Hindu and Parsi brethren have theirs, yet these questions can be best dealt with by the leaders of the particular communities to which they relate."

The conditions of *Hindu society* and of the various castes and divisions of which it is composed preclude the idea of our meeting together in a common association, in the same way as we meet together in the political Congress. In the Congress we meet as citizens of one Empire, subjects of one Sovereign, obeying the same laws, liable to pay the same taxes, claiming the same privileges, and complaining of the same grievances. This common character makes the deliberations of the Congress a matter of common anxiety to all, Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, Christians, Europeans, without distinction of colour or creed. There are, no doubt, even in political matters, subjects which inierest the several provinces locally; and these we have to relegate to the political meetings. It social maners this difference of interest makes itself still more manifest.

The 'Indian National' Social Conference is thus a misnomer. It would be more correct and more proper to call it by the name whieh would define its scope—the Hindu Sociai Conference. One possible advantage of the change is more conservative leanings may be attracted to its deliberations. It ought at all events to carry more moral weight with the community. We would prefer far a social conference of a limited number of earnest-minded and knowing men who would *confer* and transact business to the present miscellaneous gathering whose only merit in the abstract is the numbers that gather for the intellectual pastime of applauding eloquent speeches but even which does not often obtain in practice.

For over a quarter of a century have we paid homage to conventfon by attempting work at all-India mass demonstrations miscalled conferences. We do not grieve over the fact. The gatherings have not been wholly useless. They have been serviceable in their own way as a preliminary to real work. But it is time we got to the work itself.

Twenty years ago Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, speaking at Madras, declared himself dissatisfied with the progress made. 'The lamp has been lighted,' the veteran reformer and great scholar said, 'but the light is flickering and in view of 'the attitude of even our educated brethren, 'it is just as likely to my mind that it will be 'blown out as that it will be blaze.' But writing exactly a score of years after Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar spoke, we can truly say that the light has not been blown out though it is not blazing either. We can give ourselves the consolation and comfort that some advance has been made. We should not let the shadow of despondency steal 'too rapidly over our zeal' and chill our energy. 'If we cannot have optimism, we can at least 'cultivate it as a duty because of its success 'and because it is indispensable in the grim 'struggle for the realisation of our highest 'hopes.' Pessimism is a godless cult. It is hope-killing. It has never put life into a worker, Nor is there occasion for that unhelpful, uninspiring, soporific creed. To seek for

guidance in the never-failing pages of the seer and Rishi Ranade,—'We have need 'above all of two great virtues over and 'above our earnestness. We must have 'inexhaustible patience, which faith in an 'overruling Providence and the final 'triumph of right alone inspire, and we 'must have charity. Hope, faith and 'charity—these are the three graces we must 'all cultivate and if we have them ever in 'mind and hold steadily we may be 'sure that we may still realise the lost posi- 'tion and become a potent factor in the 'world's history.'—*The Leader.*

THE SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

Speaking generally, the people here, guided by what an experienced South Indian Missionary educationist once described as their fundamental sanity, are convinced as well as any fervent social reformer among them or elsewhere, that most of the items of social reform propaganda are sound and should be realised in life sooner or later. They know, moreover, that the thing is coming on. There is no staying it. What they are not convinced of or what they have not made up their minds about, is what they should do in the circumstances. Even that, some of them know fairly well. "But what about the inconvenience you are sure to cause if you take it into your head to translate thought into action? What about the feelings you are sure to hurt? The thing is coming on, you say, let it come. When it comes, I shall not be backward in welcoming it. In the meantime, is it not wise to let things alone? Let sleeping things lie. Let things go on smoothly. Time will set things right. Let us be humble followers of Father Time. We owe it, however, to ourselves and our children not to sin against the light by gulping nonsense against Social Reform. Let us at least pay intellectual homage to the cause by listening sympathetically to earnest exponents of it, though we shall not participate in their work lest these social reformers should take us at our word and call upon us to act as we speak. Where silence is safe, it is dangerous to be eloquent." So far as inward symathy is concerned, Madras is all for Social Reform. But for honest and organised expression of that sympathy in action,—the less said about it the better. Such, we understand it, was the attitude of the people who gathered at the Conference.

For once in the history of the national movement, Social Reform had precedence over Political. Is this an indication of the growing sense in the public mind of the superior importance and the greater urgency of the social problem? How one wishes this were so! This question of precedence used, not long ago, to be discussed in the press and on the platform. The discussion at least proceeded on the assumption that Reform, political, social, economic and religious, was one and that these different forms of Reform were equally important, that they were like the four legs of a chair, that one without any of the others was bound to disturb the national equilibrium. The only question is which of these forms of Reform should occupy a predominant place in the public atention. That depends altogether upon the circumstances and needs of the hour. Hitherto, Political Reform has had a leading place given to it among the obligations of patriotism. The time is

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come when equal or greater attention should be devoted to reform, economic and social, consisting largely in the education of the people. Without an all-round education of the people including the reformation of their institutions and the reconstruction of society, it is impossible for National Reform to proceed.—*The Social Reform Advocate.*

RELIGIOUS

MRS. BESANT ON HINDUISM.

We should like to draw the special attention of our Hindu readers to a few points in Mrs. Besant's address at the Theosophical Convention. 'A revival of Hinduism was absolutely necessary for the growth of India as a nation,' said Mrs. Besant. What exactly is intended to be conveyed by the word 'revival,' is the question that occurs to the mind. Does the following subsequent passage in the speech supply the interpretation?—'In India the younger generation were rather inclined to be indifferent to the faith of their fathers and to look to the West rather than to the East for the spring of their national life.' It is perfectly true that while 'from the West Asia had much to learn in the way of science, in the way of carrying on trade and commerce, etc.,' 'in the higher regions of metaphysics, philosophy and spirituality the East was ever leading the way.' The important point is that care should constantly be taken that in the name of 'revival' superstitions that hamper social progress are not bolstered up. It should never be forgotten that religious faith is not the same thing, at least not necessarily the same thing or not always as theological dogma. Most certainly, it is necessary that Hindus must respect their own past and live their own religious life, for. 'There was no progress possible for any form of human activity if the roots of that activity were not struck deep in the ocean of spiritual life. There was no possibility of national spirit in the country without self-respect being the very basis of the nation, and therefore it was necessary to hold up the great ideal of the past India, mighty in knowledge, mighty in intellect, mighty in religion and in physical prosperity. It is not less necessary that Hindus in their respect should be discriminating. There are really so many pasts,—not all of which can be looked back to with pride. They should cultivate a pride in the past golories of the race and at the same time labour arduously to abandon so much of the heritage as has brought about its degradation. Hinduism and Hindu society have survived so many vicissitudes over such a long space of time only by adjusting themselves to every altered condition. The Shastras we are taught to respect are to a no small extent a bundle of contradictions. A study of the chronology of different Shastras will very probably explain the reason why. There has been a process of continuous adjustment and adaptation; otherwise the divergences are difficult to account for. Truly, adaptability was the genius of Hindu society in the past. The community will not again become united, organized, powerful, unless the average Hindu mind is educated out of the notion that ours is not to question why but to follow. This doctrine of irresponsibility, as it in effect is, has to be attacked, and while authority is not condemned reason must be enthroned in her seat side by side. *Leader.*